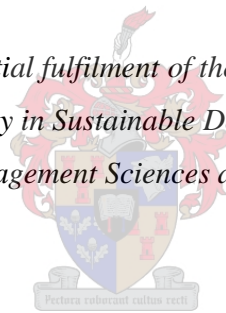


Exploring resilience capacities through the art of storymaking: the case of food innovators in the Western Cape

by
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of Master of Philosophy in Sustainable Development in the Faculty of
Economic and Management Sciences at Stellenbosch University*



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Declaration

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Abstract

This project explores the potential of storymaking as a novel methodology for developing insight into the ways in which a small selection of social innovators are working to shape change in the food system of the Western Cape, South Africa, and particularly some of the different capacities they are drawing on that may contribute to resilience.

Current literature on the Anthropocene, a proposed new geological era in which human agency is seen as a driving force impacting planetary systems, recognises social-ecological resilience theory as an emerging approach to dealing with unexpected change. This thesis brings a narrative and interpretative lens to the experiences of five social innovators who are working towards social-ecological change in the food system of the Western Cape and are part of the international Seeds of the Good Anthropocene project. The Seeds of the Good Anthropocene research seeks to analyse the potential of selected small-scale social-ecological projects to help accelerate transformations towards positive futures for people and planet.

In this project, the stories of food innovators are analysed through a 'storymaking' process of in-depth interviews, narrative inquiry and interpretative phenomenological analysis. In this process, a richness of experience and meaning that surfaces in the stories shared by research participants is explored, with the aim of understanding whether

interpreting these stories through different resilience frames can help to provide insight into the capacities that contribute towards resilience.

This work conceptualises the Western Cape as an ‘Anthropocene space’, with a unique historical and geographical context in which multiple food system crises are reflected, thus creating conditions ripe for transformation. Against this backdrop, the work connects the stories of social innovators in food to social-ecological resilience themes of rootedness, resourcefulness and resistance. It also connects these real-life stories and themes to a more theoretical exploration of the complex relationships between stories, resilience, agency and transformation.

What emerges is a picture of social innovators experimenting and connecting with one another, guided by rich and emerging value systems, working along the ‘unruly edges’ and the generative niches in between more formal institutions, practices and ways of thinking, transforming these spaces through their alternative narratives of food, culture and community, and in the process deeply exploring questions of how to reconnect with nature and ourselves, and how to live well in the Anthropocene.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie projek verken die potensiaal van storiemaak as 'n vernuwende metodologie om insig te verkry in hoe 'n klein groep sosiale innoveerders hulle beywer vir verandering in die voedselstelsel van die Wes-Kaap, Suid-Afrika, en ondersoek veral sommige van die vermoëns waaruit hulle put wat moontlik tot veerkragtigheid kan bydra.

Huidige literatuur oor die Antroposeen, 'n voorgestelde nuwe geologiese era waarin die menslike wil beskou word as 'n dryfkrag wat die planeetstelsel beïnvloed, erken sosiaal-ekologiese veerkragtigheidsteorie as 'n ontluikende benadering tot die hantering van onvoorsiene verandering. Hierdie werk gebruik 'n narratiewe en vertolkende lens om die ervarings van vyf sosiale innoveerders te ondersoek wat hulle vir sosiaal-ekologiese verandering in die voedselstelsel van die Wes-Kaap beywer en deel uitmaak van die internasionale projek Seeds of the Good Anthropocene. Navorsing van Seeds of the Good Anthropocene is gerig op die ontleding van die potensiaal van uitgesoekte kleinskaalse sosiaal-ekologiese projekte om transformasie te help versnel om 'n positiewe toekoms vir die mens én die planeet te skep.

In hierdie projek word die verhale van voedselinnoveerders deur 'n 'storiemaakproses' van diepteonderhoude, narratiewe ondersoek en vertolkende fenomenologiese analise ontleed. Sodoende word 'n oorfloed ervarings en betekenis verken wat uit die navorsingsdeelnemers se verhale na vore kom, om te bepaal of die vertolking van hierdie verhale deur verskillende veerkragtigheidsraamwerke insig kan bied in die vermoëns wat tot veerkragtigheid bydra.

Hierdie werk konseptualiseer die Wes-Kaap as 'n 'Antroposeenruimte' met 'n unieke historiese en geografiese konteks wat etlike voedselstelselkrisisse weerspieël en dus vrugbare teelaarde vir transformasie bied. Teen hierdie agtergrond koppel die werk die sosiale voedselinnoveerders se verhale aan sosiaal-ekologiese veerkragtigheidstemas van verankering, vindingrykheid en

verset. Boonop verbind dit hierdie ware verhale en temas met 'n meer teoretiese verkenning van die komplekse verwantskappe tussen verhale, veerkragtigheid, eie wil en transformasie.

Hieruit ontstaan 'n prentjie van sosiale innoveerders wat aan die hand van ryke en ontluikende waardestelsels eksperimenteer en met mekaar skakel. Hulle werk op die “ruwe rande” en in die generatiewe nisse tussen meer formele instellings, praktyke en denkwyses om hierdie ruimtes deur alternatiewe narratiewe van voedsel, kultuur en gemeenskap te transformeer. Terselfdertyd ondersoek hulle hoe die mens weer nader aan die natuur kan leef en voorspoedig in die Antroposeen kan bestaan.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

3R's	Refers to Brown's (2015) three core resilience capacities: Rootedness, Resourcefulness, Resistance
GMO	Genetically modified organism
IPA	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
IPES-Food	International Panel of Experts on Sustainable Food Systems
NRF	National Research Foundation
OZCF	Oranjezicht City Farm
NPO	Non-profit organisation
PHA	Philippi Horticultural Area
PECS	Programme for Ecosystem Change and Society
SA	South Africa
SES	Social-Ecological System
SI	Sustainability Institute
SPP	Surplus Peoples Project
SFYN	Slow Food Youth Network

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 A storyteller in the Anthropocene

As a storyteller, having spent most of my career as a journalist and a writer, I am inspired to be living here today, on the southern coast of South Africa, in the part of the world that is thought to have been the ‘cradle of the human mind’ -- the very place where we humans, the ‘storytelling animals’ (Ingram et al. 2015), may have developed our remarkable cognitive abilities for telling stories many thousands of years ago, fuelled by a rich diet of coastal seafoods (Sugiyama 2001; Kurtz 2014; Sea Change Project 2014). Back through the depths of our biological and our cultural heritage and evolution, it seems, the threads of food and story interweave, reflecting and revealing deep truths of our human experience (Sugiyama 2001; Lejano et al. 2013; Kurtz 2014).

In many ways, this thesis charts my explorations of what it means to be a storyteller, or storymaker, in this particular place and time: the Western Cape of South Africa, in the uncharted turbulence of a new era, the Anthropocene. I explore this through the lens of food, believing that food and story both can serve as powerful tools for developing insight into complex issues, reflecting the prominence of both in our cultures, values and identities, our fears, desires and aspirations. They loom so large and so powerfully in our lives, in so many different ways, that I also believe both food and stories can have a powerful influence in shaping our future (Steel 2009; Kurtz 2014; Evans 2017).

I introduce the term storymaker, from having observed that we humans do not just tell stories: we make them in our heads and then send them out into the world, where they hold tremendous power to sway our own as well as other people’s sense of reality (Kurtz 2014; Evans 2017). From the profound to the mundane, our lives are saturated with stories. And at this particular moment in time, just as exciting new discoveries come to light telling a story of humanity’s possible origins and early cultural evolution along southern African

shores (Sea Change Project 2014), we are also confronted with stories of a far more disturbing nature, about the kinds of futures we may be shaping through our present actions on our planet.

The Anthropocene is a scientific term that has been proposed to reflect a new geological era acknowledging 'man' as a primary driver of planetary change. Over the past century, and since 1950 in particular, the world has been impacted tremendously by a steep and unprecedented acceleration in population growth, technological advancement, affluence and urbanisation (Folke et al. 2016; Steffen et al. 2015). While some of these changes undoubtedly are to be celebrated, over the months I have worked on this project, alarm bells have been tolling in the news. The Arctic sea ice volumes hit record lows in 2015 and 2016 (NASA 2016)¹. Global soil fertility is so degraded that at current rates of decline we may only have another 50 or 60 years left of harvests (Monbiot 2015). New threats of global pandemics and antibiotic resistance emerge (Leach et al. 2009). Human population growth, meanwhile, will be concentrated for the foreseeable future in the over-strained cities of the global south, already deeply constrained by resource access and civil unrest (Swilling & Anneck 2012). Artificial intelligence, biogenetic capitalism, and nanotechnology continue to emerge as indelible features shaping and responding to our ever-increasingly complex, interconnected and globalised world (Braidotti 2013; Folke et al. 2016).

The idea of the Anthropocene encapsulates not only the powerful forces of human agency on an increasingly unstable planet, but also the powerful and deeply unpredictable ways in which the planet is responding to anthropogenic disturbance (Latour 2014). As we struggle to contend with 'the scale, speed, spread and connectivity of human actions in the Anthropocene,' (Folke et al. 2016), we also struggle to fathom the deep predicaments introduced by anthropogenic climate change, a Sixth Mass Extinction and other forces of

¹ <https://www.nasa.gov/feature/goddard/2016/2016-arctic-sea-ice-wintertime-extent-hits-another-record-low>

nature in which humans play a key role but do not have control (Latour 2014; Haraway 2016).

I have been, probably in equal parts, fascinated, horrified and excited by the idea of the Anthropocene, and the urgent questions it raises, summarised by the inimitable multispecies thinker Donna Haraway (2016)²: how will we respond? How can we live well with each other, the human and the nonhuman, on a damaged planet? How do we create rich new possibilities for restoration, regeneration, resurgence? How can we navigate deeply entangled human and non-human agencies to shape more hopeful stories of life into the future (Latour 2014; Haraway 2016)? And for myself, as a storyteller how do I respond to the challenges of the Anthropocene?

1.2 Arriving at my research question: why food, why story, why resilience

Through storytelling in this work, I aim to respond in two ways: first, by shedding light on hopeful stories taking shape in transformative spaces; and second, by enriching existing and/or developing new methods of analysis to find meaning in a diversity of 'positive' ways that people are responding to the Anthropocene. Therefore in this work, I construct and then analyse the stories of food system innovators to explore different subjective, contextual and symbolic meanings of resilience in the Anthropocene (Brown 2015).

In doing this, I conceptualise the Western Cape as an 'Anthropocene space' (Moore 2016), that is, a place of particular social, cultural, ecological and economic dynamics and vulnerabilities, shaped by its unique heritage and legacies, as well as its position in a contemporary globalised world. The Cape is a biodiversity hotspot, home to the unique and intensely threatened biodiversity of the Cape Floral Kingdom, and to an incredibly diverse cultural mixture of indigenous, African, Asian and European heritages. Painful

² Haraway is not a proponent of the term Anthropocene, with its implied anthropocentrism. She instead proposes Chulucene to reflect a multispecies perspective in ideas of regenerating planetary systems.

histories of colonisation, slavery, and apartheid extend into the present, in the forms of extreme social inequality, poverty and the ‘slow violence of hunger’ (Moyo 2017). Deep legacies are also imprinted on the land itself, for example through a dominant system of industrial agriculture, heavily reliant on imported crop production models whose vulnerabilities are currently being exposed by severe, multi-year drought.

Resilience, in its most basic usage, means the ability to respond to change and disturbance. Social-ecological resilience is an emerging complexity-based approach towards understanding and finding ways of dealing with the unexpected and novel changes brought on by the Anthropocene (Folke et al. 2016). Through a resilience lens, the Anthropocene can be seen as a time of need not only for response to change, but also for making change, as many social-ecological systems remain stuck on harmful trajectories and in need of transformation. Shaped by the daily dietary choices, food consumption habits and the environmental, cultural and political dynamics of people, ecologies and societies around the world, the food system emerges as a prime example of a social-ecological system in need of a substantively different trajectory of future change (Gordon 2017).

At whatever scale you look, both within South Africa and globally, evidence abounds of deep social and ecological crises in food systems. Agrifood systems are a key driver of environmental change globally (Gordon 2017). In each of the four out of nine identified planetary boundaries³, for example, which human activity has pushed beyond a safe operating space and into zones of uncertainty or high risk, the footprint of agriculture and food looms large: in climate change, biosphere integrity⁴, land system change, and biochemical flows (Rockström et al. 2009; Steffen et al. 2015). Some 95

³ The nine planetary boundaries are: stratospheric ozone depletion; loss of biosphere integrity; chemical pollution and the release of novel entities; climate change; ocean acidification; freshwater consumption and the global hydrological cycle; land system change; nitrogen and phosphorus flows; and atmospheric aerosol loading (Steffen et al. 2015).

⁴ Functional biodiversity is unknown, genetic diversity in a zone of high risk (Rockström et al. 2009; Steffen et al. 2015)

percent of calories consumed globally are derived from only 30 plant species (Johnson 2016). Globally, ownership in the food value chain is concentrated among a handful of international conglomerates (Patel 2009; 2016). The biopolitical control of life has emerged as reality, as seed systems increasingly become privatised and commodified, supported by international trade and legal regimes (Braidotti 2013).

1.2.1 The role of narrative in shaping food systems

The sheer challenge of feeding people without destroying the environment dates back to the earliest civilisations, and has been a key driver of the human story over millennia (Steel 2009). Human value systems too play an indelible role in shaping the landscapes, both local and global, from which such complex social-ecological systems as food emerge (Folke et al. 2010; Tsing 2012). The evolution of globalised food systems in modern times, reflecting historical trajectories of imperial and colonial expansion and the rise of global capitalism, forms the narrative backdrop to our experiences of food today (Tsing 2012; Patel 2016). Patel, for example, highlights how dominant ideologies of free market capitalism and consumerism, rooted in cultural legacies of racial and gender oppression and the control of nature, shape current societal value systems, and are reflected, for example, in the dynamics of hunger: who has access to food, and what kind of food (2016).

A report from the International Panel of Experts on Sustainable Food Systems (IPES-Food 2016), illustrates how a narrative can contribute towards keeping our current industrial agri-food system stuck in harmful patterns. The report proposes key lock-ins that reinforce the persistence of the dominant global industrial agri-food system, and come together to reinforce the concentration of power within this system. These lock-ins are:

- The expectation of cheap food
- Export orientation
- Path dependency
- Measures of success

- Short term thinking
- Compartmentalized thinking
- And 'feed the world' narratives (IPES-Food 2016: 45).

These 'feed the world' narratives frame a problem of feeding a growing world population, and offer the solution of increasing food production at all costs -- a vision that promotes a model of large-scale, intensive commodity crop production that is part and parcel of the larger industrial food system, yet ignores the crucial questions of how, where and by whom this food should be produced (IPES-Food 2016; Lindow 2016; Patel 2016). Thus the report argues that a 'locked-in' narrative shifts our focus from other aspects of the dominant food system, such as its widespread environmental and labour abuses, or the pervasiveness of malnutrition and food insecurity that is perpetuated, among many other problems (IPES-Food 2016).

The report highlights a need for 'fundamentally different farming landscapes and livelihoods, and radically reimagined food systems' (IPES-Food 2016: 6). Implicit in this view is the idea that shifting the narratives, and shining a light on other diverse and alternative value systems and ways of seeing the world that are not currently dominant in the food system, can have a powerful effect. Social-ecological resilience theory suggests that alternative value systems can be important in opening up new pathways and possibilities for shaping new realities (Folke et al. 2010; Olsson & Galaz 2012; Bennett et al. 2016). Stories, I will argue, provide a powerful frame for analysing such emergent value systems, as well as other capacities which may be emerging to offer potentials for more desirable trajectories in the Anthropocene.

1.2.2 The power of stories

A rich body of literature and theory suggests ways in which stories may be useful for analysing the complexities of subjective human experience (Lejano et al. 2013). Stories are understood to provide the frames, mental models and other cognitive tools for developing and expressing the values, worldviews and beliefs that shape individual and societal perspectives (Lejano et al. 2013;

Kurtz 2014; Miller & Solin 2015). Stories may be inclusive, flexible and malleable, or plurivocal (Lejano et al. 2013). They are also deeply political in the ways they express, reflect or sometimes even suppress societal tensions, power dynamics, worldviews, values and belief systems (Senehi 2002; Kurtz 2014).

Kurtz (2014: 1590) likens stories to seeds, and draws a parallel between the need to preserve the diversity in seed systems and story cultures alike, as both form 'a vital resource which can be studied and supported to help societies become more resilient in times of crisis'. To me, the depth of social-ecological crises in the food system suggest the need to bring to light alternative narratives which re-imagine and re-animate human relationships with nature and one another, and envision the possibilities of social justice in contexts of deep inequality. Thus my intention in this project is to highlight some of the diverse narratives that exist at the margins of the dominant food system, and illuminate alternative possibilities.

1.2.3 The experiences of food innovators

I have chosen to bring a narrative approach to working with food innovators in this project, partly to explore their roles in framing new stories and narratives of the food system, and potentially shedding light, through their individual perspectives, on what changes are needed in the current locked-in systems, and how to bring about these changes. Literature on resilience and transformation in complex adaptive social-ecological systems acknowledges the important roles that are often played by social innovators (also sometimes called leaders or institutional entrepreneurs) in shaping these new trajectories, through various means, including framing new narratives to envision and encapsulate desired trajectories of change (Olsson et al. 2006; Westley et al. 2013; Moore et al. 2014).

The resilience literature identifies and explores different capacities that may be important in responding to unexpected change and shaping alternative trajectories of change in the context of the Anthropocene. In this project, I

explore the idea that the narratives expressed by individual social innovators may contain rich troves of insight into various resilience capacities, and specifically how these capacities are developed and exercised in efforts at navigating change and nudging systems toward alternative development trajectories.

My research question, therefore, is: Can storymaking help develop insight into capacities that contribute to resilience?

1.3 The Seeds of the Good Anthropocene project

This question, combined with my approach of wanting to explore the stories of food innovators working in transformative spaces, led me to the Seeds of the Good Anthropocenes⁵ (hereafter, ‘Seeds project’), an international research project based between the Stockholm Resilience Centre in Sweden, McGill University in Canada, and Stellenbosch University in South Africa. Based in social-ecological resilience theory, the Seeds project seeks to analyse the ways in which transformations, by which I mean the shifting of systems onto new trajectories of change, may emerge from small, nascent projects that currently exist and express very different kinds of values and worldviews to the ones that are dominant in mainstream society (Bennett et al. 2016).

The Seeds project acknowledges in its design that stories are powerful (Bennett et al. 2016). An inherent danger is recognised of self-fulfilling prophecies from the stories we tell ourselves about the future (Bennett et al. 2016; Evans 2017). On the one hand, if all we see in the future is a narrative of hopelessness or apocalypse, that may be the future we create through our behaviours and choices. On the other hand, if we tell ourselves the story that our technologies will save us without us having to rethink how we live on a finite planet, we may not do enough to imagine and bring about the kinds of

⁵ Further information about the project is available at <http://goodanthropocenes.net>

changes that science (e.g. the Planetary Boundaries research, Steffen et al. 2015) tells us are imperative (Bennett et al. 2016).

As many new Anthropocene discourses take shape, the Seeds project seeks to explore and articulate a hopeful vision of future possibilities, drawing on real-world projects and prototypes and imagining ways in which they could evolve to thrive under radically different future conditions (Bennett et al. 2016). The project emphasises the importance of focusing on what currently exists that is positive, and how to support this; but at the same time articulates a need to imagine more radical shifts in ‘values, assumptions, cultures and worldviews’ that will almost certainly be necessary for future human prosperity and sustainability (Bennett et al. 2016: 4). Since the inception of the Seeds of the Good Anthropocenes project in 2014, approximately 500 Seeds have been identified around the world and gathered into a database (Bennett et al. 2016).

For my project, I reviewed the database for food-related Seeds projects based in the Western Cape, and selected five examples⁶ of projects where a key person, or key people, could be identified as playing the role of a food innovator (defined in the following section). Each individual was therefore selected for this research because of their key involvement the Seeds project, as well as their focus on bringing about change in the dominant food system. Adapting Biggs et al.’s definition of a social innovator (2010), I define food innovator as a person working to change the food system through introducing new concepts, strategies and processes that disrupt or enable novelty to emerge. In support of this transformational aspect, I also looked for projects in their most nascent stages (5 years old or less), and which appeared to embrace ‘alternative’ value systems, for example through focusing on indigenous foods.

⁶ Initially there were six participants in this study; however one participant did not respond timeously to requests for feedback on a draft of this thesis, and was withdrawn by the researcher.

In this thesis, I explore these innovators' experiences in depth, through the stories they live and tell (Clandinin 2007), and the ways they are responding to Anthropocene challenges through social innovation in the food system. My aim is to help shed light on some of the different resilience capacities behind how they envision, describe and make sense of the various, and sometimes interconnecting, processes of innovating, collaborating, building networks, and shaping new stories of the future. In other words, I seek to highlight some of the deep qualities of their engagements in what Cilliers calls the 'agonistics of the network' (1998, 2000).

1.4 Summary of thesis structure

I conclude this chapter with a brief summary of the contents of this thesis. My literature review (Chapter 2) brings together different strands of theory on social-ecological resilience, stories and food. I develop the idea that certain capacities may contribute towards building resilience, and explore the complex functions of stories and narratives to consider how they may be useful as a way of analysing resilience capacities.

In Chapter 3, I outline my storymaking process of interviewing food innovators, interpreting their stories and connecting these stories to key resilience frames of Rootedness, Resourcefulness and Resistance (Brown 2015).

In Chapter 4, I present the stories I gathered from research participants, in which they describe their lived experiences, their motivations and values, the development of their Seeds projects, their learning processes and their food innovation strategies.

In Chapter 5, I explore the rich common themes and narratives I uncovered in the storymaking process, connecting these themes to key resilience capacities through the frames of Rootedness, Resourcefulness and Resistance (Brown 2015), and reflecting on some of the insights into

intangible, value-driven, symbolic, and contextual aspects of resilience that emerged.

I conclude with key findings and reflections in Chapter 6, where I argue for a view of the Seeds in this study as (conceptual as well as physical) spaces of narrative diversity, where important stories about living well in the Anthropocene are emerging.

1.5 Definition of key terms and concepts

Table 1 provides definitions of key terms and concepts used in this work.

Table 1 Key terms and concepts

Adaptation	A change or innovation that arises within a system in response to broader external changes or disturbances, enabling the system to recover from the disturbance
Agency	The capability of influencing complex adaptive social-ecological systems (Folke et al. 2016)
Anthropocene	A scientific term proposed to describe a current geological era of 'unprecedented anthropogenic planetary change' (Moore 2015: 27)
Emplotment	The basic plot of a narrative, including key actors, events, concepts and tensions (Lejano et al. 2013)
Food innovator	A person working to change the food system through introducing new concepts, strategies and processes that disrupt or enable novelty to emerge (Biggs et al. 2010)
Food landscape	The diverse relationships of food embedded in a particular social-ecological terrain
Food system	A social-ecological system encompassing the diverse and interconnected relationships and activities through which food is produced, distributed and consumed (Pereira & Drimie 2016: 20)
Indigenous food	Food derived from plants, animals and human cultures originating in a particular place
Narrative ⁷	Ricoeur's (1981) description of narrative as a representation of human experience is discussed by Lejano et al. 2013: 51) who expand on this definition and describe narrative as the way in which people and groups 'make sense of the multiple events, actors, and ideas found in life', both real and fictional (Lejano et al. 2013: 51). 'The organisation for our actions and experiences' (Goodson & Gill 2011: 21): A story
Narrative network	A network of people, objects, places, ideas and

⁷ I use the words narrative and story more or less interchangeably, as both terms arise in the literature and interview texts used in this work.

	other entities that is held together through a common narrative which both encapsulates the identity of the network and serves as its knowledge repository (Lejano et al. 2013: 50)
Persistence	An aspect of resilience in which a system is able to withstand the effects of an external change or shock, and thus remain unchanged.
Plurivocity	The different ways in which a shared narrative is expressed by different people (Lejano et al. 2013)
Resilience	The ability to respond to change and disturbance, as well as the ability to shape change in systems stuck in untenable or undesirable patterns (Folke et al. 2010)
Resilience thinking	An approach to understanding how complex intertwined social-ecological systems respond to uncertainty and change, and the impacts on people and planet (Folke et al. 2016)
Social-ecological resilience	'The capacity to adapt or transform in the face of change in social-ecological systems, particularly unexpected change, in ways that continue to support human well-being' (Folke et al. 2016)
Social-ecological system	Interdependent social and natural systems. The concept highlights the interdependence and co-evolution of human and planetary systems across different scales (Folke et al. 2016)
Story	An account of events, either real or fictional. A narrative
Storymaking	A novel methodology that was devised in this study for creating stories and using them to capture data and generate analysis and interpretation
Transformation	Structural change in a social-ecological system to enable new future change trajectories (Westley et al. 2011)

Chapter 2: Resilience, stories and food

2.1 Introduction

In proposing the rich potentials of both social-ecological resilience theory and of stories for guiding positive responses to the Anthropocene, the Seeds of the Good Anthropocene project, introduced in section 1.3, provides the conceptual launch pad for this thesis. As one point of departure, the Seeds research highlights a need for re-imagining relationships between people and nature (Bennett et al. 2016). As researchers on the project have begun to interrogate the diverse values that people will inevitably attach to the idea of a 'Good Anthropocene', they have reported a finding: 'In the midst of Anthropocene challenges, people across the world want a just, ecologically rich world, and many new examples are emerging of different ways of thinking, living and being to achieve this' (Pereira et al., forthcoming). These new ways of thinking, living and being may be the seeds of more radical transformations to values, cultures and worldviews that offer ways of making a Good Anthropocene possible (Bennett et al. 2016).

In this chapter, I consider the potential of story to illuminate such transformations of values, cultures and worldviews, and shed light on some of the different capacities that may influence how people develop the resilience of social-ecological systems in which they live and on which they depend (Folke et al. 2016). I draw on social-ecological resilience literature to identify particular capacities which are understood to influence resilience, and explore how these different capacities connect to a concept of resilience as a lived, experiential phenomenon, that has important contextual, value-driven and symbolic meanings (Goldstein et al. 2012; Brown 2015).

I propose that stories have unique attributes which make them powerful devices for teasing out some of these contextual, value-driven and symbolic meanings of resilience. I explore the power and the complexity of stories and narratives as intrinsically human technologies (Okri 2014a) through which people construct identities, make sense of their experiences; navigate their

worlds in relation to others; deal with complexity and change; and imagine and prepare for the future (Kurtz 2014). Harnessing these diverse and powerful functions of story, it may become possible to develop insight into some of the values and capacities for resilience and transformation that are encapsulated in Seeds projects (Bennett et al. 2016).

To further my explorations of how stories may help to illuminate resilience capacities, I present the Western Cape food system as a prime Anthropocene terrain, in which multiple interlinked crises present rich opportunities to imagine and shape new narratives of transformation and change. Food, I argue, connects us very directly to our social-ecological world, and at the same time expresses our values and the qualities of our relationships with nature and culture, landscape and ecology, politics and power, and a larger story of life, both human and non-human (Steel 2009; Khan 2015). As such, food provides a rich conceptual space in which to explore diverse, emerging narratives and the possibilities they raise of imagining radically different, more sustainable and just, futures.

2.2 Resilience in the Anthropocene

Resilience is increasingly being proposed as an emerging complexity-based approach for dealing with the crises and disturbances that characterize the Anthropocene (Folke et al. 2016). Following Folke et al. (2016), I conceptualise resilience as an emergent property⁸, encapsulating all the diverse and complex ways in which people and social-ecological communities persist and endure, and adapt and change, in relation to their wider contexts. Resilience, broadly defined, can thus be understood as the ability to respond to disturbance and change. It is also, however, increasingly understood as the ability to shape change, and shift entrenched structural problems such as poverty or gender oppression (Brown 2015). This transformative aspect of

⁸ Emergence is a concept taken from complexity theory which refers to the behaviours that arise from the rich, dynamic, non-linear interactions within a system (Cilliers 2000).

resilience is highly relevant to my inquiry, and will be explored further in the following sections.

2.2.1 Resilience Thinking and Transformative Change

Resilience thinking is concerned with the opportunities that emerge through change and disruption, which could theoretically produce a response of rigidity or paralysis, or open up new windows of opportunity for change that eventually gain traction and become mainstream (Olsson et al. 2006; Bennett et al. 2016).

The resilience thinking literature highlights three aspects of resilience in response to change and disturbance: Persistence is the ability of a system to resist the effects of a shock or disturbance and remain unchanged from its original state. Adaptation is the ability to change in response to disturbance, so that a system can essentially carry out the same functions as it was before. Transformation involves deeper structural changes that break the dynamics of locked-in systems, so that new more desirable future pathways may emerge (Folke et al. 2010; Westley et al. 2011; Moore et al. 2014; Folke et al. 2016). This work is concerned with all three aspects of resilience, yet gives particular attention to the transformative, i.e. change-oriented, aspect of resilience, in keeping with the transformation focus of the Seeds of the Good Anthropocene research.

Resilience and transformation literature acknowledges the important and diverse roles that social innovators (also sometimes referred to as leaders or institutional entrepreneurs) often play in mobilising transformations of locked-in systems (Olsson et al. 2006; Moore et al. 2014). Transformation is a tricky prospect, however, as it often involves confrontation with deeply entrenched and powerful interests (O'Brien 2012; Moore et al. 2014; Brown 2015). Furthermore, ethical tensions arise around who gets to drive change, or decide on what changes are desirable, and how they should be pursued (O'Brien 2012). Issues of power and agency, justice and inequality (Moore et al. 2014), lend urgency to questions of the dynamics of resilience and

transformation: Who defines resilience in a particular context, or decides what is to be made resilient, and resilient to what? Who decides what kinds of changes are desirable or undesirable? (Biggs et al. 2012; Olsson & Galaz 2012; Berkes & Ross 2013; Moore et al. 2014; Brown 2015; Folke et al. 2016).

The field of social-ecological resilience, within which the Seeds project is based, provides a framework to appreciate both the complexities and contingencies of such concerns. The field recognises people and the biosphere as being interdependent, and inextricably linked across multiple spatial and temporal scales, from the individual to the community to the planet (Olsson & Galaz 2012; Folke et al. 2016). Within this framework of social-ecological interdependence, complex interactions are understood to drive continuous cycles of adaptation and multilevel change that is often non-linear and unpredictable, thus producing a view of life as being dynamic and interdependent, and never static (Folke et al. 2016; Biggs 2017). Small actions may produce massive unintended consequences, for example as social innovators attempting to shape wider systemic changes may be guided by certain values, but lose control of outcomes (Olsson et al. 2006; Folke et al. 2010; Moore et al. 2014).

2.2.2 'Re-visioning Resilience'

Recognising such ethical dilemmas of resilience and transformation, Brown (2015) argues for a 're-visioning' of resilience -- which recognises the socially constructed nature of resilience and therefore grapples with questions of agency, power, purposive transformation and development. Applying a political ecology lens to resilience, through the study of discourses, narratives and power dynamics, Brown introduces a framework for analysing the socially constructed nature of resilience. This framework draws on other fields such as geography and political science, particularly for analysing the social dynamics of resilience in terms of power, justice, vulnerability, marginalised voices and other dimensions that are often neglected in the resilience literature (Brown 2015: 101-118). According to Brown, resilience can be 'understood not only

as a response to change, but as a strategy for building the capacity to deal with and to shape change' (2015). Thus a key aim of Brown's work is to inspire more integrated thinking about 'human agency in the face of profound, rapid and irreversible change we collectively face' (Brown 2016).

In Brown's framework, this essentially means understanding that power dynamics will affect the dynamics of how resilience is developed and how change occurs (Brown 2015: 119). Likewise values and concerns of identity and culture must also be understood as important dimensions of resilience, and drivers of change (Brown 2015: 114). Brown for example finds that family constructs and cultural practices like storytelling may contribute to a sense of 'wholeness and wellbeing... So despite societal construction of vulnerability, there also exists a unique set of values and practices which build resilience' (Brown 2015:116).

In Brown's work, resilience is conceptualised as being highly contextual, dynamic, process-oriented, and contingent: the ways in which resilience is developed, defined, experienced or weakened and undermined in different settings can be understood as a feature of the complex interactions among the unique strengths and vulnerabilities, power asymmetries, cultures, governance structures, social hierarchies, ecological and temporal relationships, and other dynamics of a particular community or place (Brown 2016: 101-119). Brown elaborates: 'A focus on everyday forms of resilience gives a starting point to truly integrate understandings of how people can respond to change -- both the slow variables, such as changes in values, and the shocks. It puts the capacities that people, communities, and social-ecological systems have at the core of the analysis' (Brown 2015: 194).

2.2.3 Resilience Capacities

Building on Brown's idea of resilience capacities (2015), I explore related literature in which particular attributes are presented as possible contributors toward resilience, or lack thereof, in complex systems. Biggs et al. (2012) identify, for example, seven principles that contribute towards the resilience of ecosystem services -- the first three of which relate to how the underlying

social-ecological systems that co-produce ecosystem services are managed, while the remaining four principles are concerned with the governance of these social-ecological systems. The seven principles, with brief explanations, are as follows:

P1: Maintain diversity and redundancy: acknowledges the importance of social as well as natural diversity. Different forms of diversity, including '(b)iodiversity, spatial heterogeneity, livelihood strategies and institutional diversity' as well as diverse values (Biggs et al. 2012: 424) provide a wider set of options to draw on to maintain key system functions in times of disturbance or change.

P2: Connectivity: is important ecologically in maintaining and joining up small patches of habitat and larger corridors of biodiversity. Socially, networks are important for introducing and sharing ideas and values. Connectivity can facilitate recovery from disturbance, but high levels of connectivity can also heighten vulnerabilities to the spread of disease or other harmful effects (Biggs et al. 2012).

P3: Manage slow variables and feedbacks: highlights a need for understanding and awareness of slow variables that may lead to possible regime shifts and tipping points. Such slow changes need to be recognized in time to avert them before irreversible changes may occur (Biggs et al. 2012).

P4: Understanding social-ecological systems as complex adaptive systems: highlights ways in which mental models can shape responses to complexity and novelty. A mindset that is attuned to complexity is more likely to respond to change and uncertainty with fluid approaches such as learning, adaptation and experimentation, instead of rigidity (Biggs et al. 2012: 432-434).

P5: Encourage learning and experimentation: Refers to the acquisition of new knowledge and skills, as well as deeper processes of social learning which can foster cultural adaptation of new worldviews and values. Learning

and experimentation are important in developing and enriching the capabilities of response to disturbance and change. The authors also highlight the need for developing social capital to enable experimentation, which is risky and requires different kinds of social resources (Biggs et al. 2012: 434-5).

P6: Broaden Participation: Facilitates collective response to disturbance and change, as well as the ability to detect and interpret it. May help to foster cooperation and transparency, and strengthen the links between information-sharing, learning and decision-making, as well as building social capital and trust (Biggs et al. 2012: 436-7).

P7: Strengthen Polycentric Governance Systems: Enables wider participation and sharing of knowledge, particularly 'scale-specific' knowledge. Supports functional redundancy and allows weaknesses which occur at one governance scale to be compensated for at other levels (Biggs et al. 2012: 438).

Together, these principles either enable or constrain resilience, depending on circumstances. In other words, attributes of diversity, connectivity, managing feedbacks, appreciating complexity, etc. do not build resilience in and of themselves; but rather are important features of complex systems that may contribute to the emergence of resilience (Biggs et al. 2012).

Berkes and Ross (2013), meanwhile, integrate social-ecological and psychological resilience literatures to develop the idea of community resilience. The authors identify numerous attributes of community resilience: social networks, values, beliefs, knowledge, skills and learning, leadership, people-place relationship, diverse economy and innovation, community infrastructure, positive outlook and engaged governance -- and similarly find these attributes to be 'latent characteristics', which have to be enacted through the exercise of self-organisation and agency within communities, to produce resilience (Berkes & Ross 2013).

In other words, resilience capacities are understood as being heavily contingent, forever changing in accordance with the interdependent specificities of place, social and power dynamics and other contextual factors (Biggs et al. 2012; Berkes & Ross 2013; Brown 2015). Forms of resilience that may be understood as beneficial at a particular scale or context may prove to be undesirable or maladaptive in different circumstances (Folke et al. 2010; Olsson & Galaz 2012; Berkes & Ross 2013; Folke et al. 2016). Capacities that may contribute towards building resilience in one context, may weaken it in another (Biggs et al. 2012).

Brown's explicit analysis of these capacities through a lens of politics and power leads to consideration of how the resilience of some people, communities, species and ecosystems often means a loss of resilience for others, particularly the poor and marginalised (Brown 2015; Folke et al. 2016; Bousquet et al. 2016). Brown's analysis distills three core attributes, Rootedness, Resourcefulness and Resistance, which are identified as being key to how communities build and experience resilience, particularly at the margins of society:

Rootedness: 'acknowledges the situated nature of resilience, and the importance of culture and place -- not only as physical environment and context, but also as identity and attachment' (Brown 2016: 3)

Resourcefulness: 'considers the resources available, and how they can be accessed and used in response to change'. Resources include 'capacities, knowledges, innovation and learning' (Brown 2016: 3)

Resistance: puts 'politics and power at the heart of resilience. It concerns how new spaces for change can be opened up and how positive transformation might be shaped and mobilised' (Brown 2016: 3)

These three themes, Brown argues, offer complementary frames for analysing the dynamics of capacities that contribute to resilience.

2.3 Illuminating resilience capacities through story

‘Stories are the infinite seeds that we have brought with us through the millennia of walking the dust of the earth. They are our celestial pods. They are our alchemical cauldrons. If we listen to them right, if we read them deeply, they will guide us through the confusion of our lives, and the diffusion of our times’ - Ben Okri, The Mystery Feast (2014)

Brown’s analysis of socially constructed aspects of resilience opens the possibility of using stories and narratives to tease out some of these more elusive questions of resilience capacities, such as how value systems and worldviews may influence resilience (Folke et al. 2010). I say this essentially because stories, too, are socially constructed phenomena, often encoded with symbolic and subjective meanings that are expressive of people’s values, beliefs, feelings and perspectives (Goldstein et al. 2012; Lejano et al. 2013; Kurtz 2014). Stories are powerful and complex. They are understood to be a fundamental part of the human experience, through which people construct and make sense of their worlds. And they are deeply political, reflecting societal tensions and power dynamics (Senehi 2002).

2.3.1 Stories as a social phenomenon

Stories are understood to be a universal human trait, existing in diverse forms across all cultures (Kurtz 2014). Story is ‘one if not *the* [my emphasis] fundamental unit that accounts for human experience’ (Clandinin 2007: 5). They are told and shared in one form or another by virtually all members of any society, and can be understood by small children and the cognitively impaired, thus making story an extraordinarily flexible, diverse and available medium (Sugiyama 2001; Senehi 2002; Coe et al. 2006; Kurtz 2014). The very pervasiveness of story suggests to some theorists that storytelling skills are more than just a feature of human culture, but are in fact a biological adaptation, likely to have evolved alongside the physiological development of speech capabilities and along with other forms of artistic or cultural expression

such as cave paintings somewhere between 100,000 and 30,000 years ago (Sugiyama 2001).

Numerous features of story, storytelling and narrative have been identified which may have helped our human ancestors to survive and prosper; and which remain relevant today. Table 2 presents a summary of some different cognitive, sensemaking, social and creative or transformative theories of how stories work and what they do.

Table 2: Attributes of stories and narratives

<p><u>Cognitive/sensemaking dimensions of story:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • making sense of the world (Lejano et al. 2013) • provide a temporal bridge, connecting and drawing links between the past, present and future (Kurtz 2014) • foster imagination and empathy by allowing people to 'walk in the shoes of another' and understand how others see and experience the world (Svoboda 2015) • stories are memorable: they have a universal structure (a beginning, middle and end) that serves a cognitive function, allowing for the understanding and retention of complex information that may be important for future decision-making (Sugiyama 2001; Kurtz 2014)
<p><u>Social purpose attributes of story:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • make available a wide range of individuals' knowledge and experience to a larger group, freeing group members from having to spend the time and incur the risk of gaining that experience directly (Sugiyama 2001) • constructing shared meanings in groups; building cohesion and fostering collaboration (Lejano et al. 2013; Kurtz 2014; Goldstein et al. 2012) • bridges diverse perspectives, enabling sharing of worldviews and mental models (Kurtz 2014; Miller & Solin 2015) • frame what we see and don't see, what we consider to be important and our sense of what is possible; often narratives reflect power (Leach et al. 2012; Lejano et al. 2013; Brown 2015) • values, morals and principles that define a particular culture or community are shared through story, particularly transmitted from one generation to the next through traditional stories, encoded in the language of the story (Senehi 2002; Coe et al. 2006) • activate citizenship and participation by facilitating an understanding of one's own role and agency in shaping a particular system (Miller & Solin 2015) • social rites of storytelling can reduce direct confrontation between people with divergent interests or ideologies, inviting understanding and the construction of shared meanings, rather than outright confrontation or rejection of others' perspectives (Kurtz 2014)
<p><u>Adaptive/creative/transformative potentials of story:</u></p>

- play with different scenarios and plan for the future (Kurtz 2014)
- imagine different realities, shape new worldviews (Miller & Solin 2015)
- can help to foster an understanding of the natural environment, changes in the environment and humans' relationships to the environment (Sugiyama 2001)

These diverse social attributes of story raise a tantalising possibility that stories themselves may have agency in building resilience capacities, as is suggested in the works of some authors, e.g. Goldstein et al. (2012), and Miller and Solin (2015). In this work, however, I limit myself to being concerned only with the power and efficacy of stories as a method for analysing resilience capacities, not building them. This is because the study was not designed in such a way as to uncover empirical evidence of the agency of stories, and can therefore make no such claims.

2.3.2 Dynamics of power and complexity in stories

Stories are powerful, but not neutral. Their power may be amplified or constrained by dynamics of societal power, ideology, economics (Senehi 2002) and thought paradigms (Capra & Luisi 2014). Stories and narratives exist at different scales, overlapping, conflicting and reinforcing one another in messy dimensions – all the while reflecting particular attitudes, tensions, values, beliefs of a person, community or society (Kurtz 2014). They may be fabrications or fictions, yet contain kernels of profound truth (Coe et al. 2006; Senehi 2002). Or alternatively, narratives presented as history or fact may in fact introduce distortions or marginalise the perspectives of particular groups (Senehi 2002). Narratives can be so powerful that they lead people to reject, discount or ignore data and evidence that does not fit within the dominant narrative (Glover 2010). In other words, narratives are deeply political, and truth in narrative is a matter of perspective.

Senehi notes Foucault's ideas around power relations being encoded into language and reflected in story, so that some discourses are 'seen as more legitimate or politically powerful' than others (Senehi 2002: 47). Analysing narrative in the context of peace-building, Senehi distinguishes between destructive and constructive storytelling. Used destructively, for example,

stories may serve to entrench social divisions and 'perpetuate structural violence' (Senehi 2002: 45). *Constructive storytelling*, on the other hand, is 'inclusive and fosters collaborative power and mutual recognition; creates opportunities for openness, dialogue, and insight; a means to bring issues to consciousness; and a means of resistance' (Senehi 2002: 45). Likewise, Goldstein et al. (2012) distinguish between narratives that are imposed on communities, and narratives that are generated within communities, noting that the former can be alienating and disempowering, perpetuating inequality; while the latter can foster a sense of collaboration, inclusion, participation. These observations highlight the importance of paying attention not only to the dominant narratives of a group or society, but also to the counter narratives and contested narratives that emerge to challenge these dominant narratives (Leach et al. 2009).

A complexity perspective is useful in analysing the tensions of power and agency within landscapes of dominant and contested narratives. Cilliers (1998) holds that one of the great fallacies of the Modernist perspective is the idea of there being any one essential truth, or fixed point of reference, from which to view the world. Cilliers likewise rejects the idea of there being any single grand narrative or 'whole truth' encapsulating all knowledge (Cilliers 1998). Instead, Cilliers also argues for the importance of paying attention to memory, identity, reflection and iteration in a complex system. The systems intelligence that is built through deep engagement with the past, present and future is critical to understanding the nature of the system; and the result will be 'a system that has carefully accumulated the relevant memories of experience over time' (Cilliers 2006: 107).

This argument supports the idea that the stories and narratives found in marginal and transformative spaces, such as within Seeds projects, may provide rich and important insights into their resilience capacities, an idea that I return to in the following sections. It also suggests that such 'narratives at the margins' fit within a broader canon of stories which can be seen as a complex adaptive system, akin to Cilliers' treatment of language as a complex adaptive system (1998). Stories of various kinds emerge in communities to

fulfil different kinds of functions in different contexts. Core values, identity and memory are encoded in these stories (Senehi 2002), yet the stories may also change, adapt and evolve over time. Key stories, such as sacred stories, remain at the heart of cultures and are repeated in intact form from one generation to the next – yet as these cultures themselves shift and change over time, the stories die out, morph, are replaced with other stories, and are also sometimes rediscovered and reinterpreted (Cilliers 1998; MacGregor 2004). Traditional stories might be seen as 'cultural transmission from ancestors', and might thus be seen as fostering a form of 'intergenerational cooperation', for example by encouraging qualities such as self-restraint that may have survival benefit to the group (Coe et al. 2006: 28-29).

Cultural anthropologist David Abram (1996) further enriches the idea of both stories and language itself as complex adaptive systems, by situating them both inextricably within the natural world. Influenced by Merleau-Ponty, Abram explores the rootedness of story in language, and the rootedness of language in the natural world, reflecting that 'each language (is) a kind of song, a particular way of "singing the world"'; and that language 'is the very voice of the trees, the waves, and the forest' (Merleau-Ponty, quoted in Abram 1996: 76, 86). Such perspectives suggest the rich potential of story to help re-animate connections between people and nature in the Anthropocene, as highlighted in the Seeds research (Ingold 2006; Bennett et al. 2016; Folke et al. 2016; Ingram et al. 2015).

2.4 Food narratives

Food holds a similar potential for re-animating people-and-nature connections. Because food is such a multidimensional and pervasive feature in all aspects of our lives; our daily diets may be the single most important way in which most humans interact with their larger social-ecological systems and can influence those systems (Steel 2009; Gordon 2017). In other words, food has a rich transformative potential: to change how we eat, and our relationship with food, implies deep changes on multiple levels in our values, cultures, ethics, economies, landscapes and environments (Steel 2009). In

terms of resilience thinking, food presents an area of crisis and disturbance, opening windows of opportunity for transformation.

This renders food a prime ‘Anthropocene’ terrain, for example as the footprint of somebody eating a hamburger in Cape Town may well link directly to land grabbing and the destruction of Amazon forests for intensive, monoculture soya and livestock farming, and/or the same in service of palm oil production in West Africa or Indonesia. The footprint of food looms large in our lives and our landscapes, both near and far, just as huge questions about the future of food hang in the balance. In the Western Cape, for example, as I write in mid-2017, a catastrophic drought raises disturbingly real and immediate questions of how this region can feed itself and support an economy heavily dependent on failing industrial agriculture models into the future (Drimie & Pereira 2016). Drought in the Western Cape has thrown into relief important social-ecological tensions raised by Folke et al. (2010) around the capacity of landscapes to support the socio-cultural or economic values of a region. The authors ask, ‘Are there deeper, slower variables in social systems, such as identity, core values and worldviews that constrain adaptability?’ (Folke et al. 2010). This is an urgent question for a region whose economy and immediate food security depends heavily on intensive, non-indigenous crop production, using industrial farming models.

Using Brown’s social framing of resilience, the South African food system could be understood to be in a state of protracted crisis, evident for example in the persistence of numerous slow variables including high levels of childhood malnutrition and stunting, as well as chronic poverty, food insecurity⁹, malnutrition, and a skewed production system in which emerging black farmers are marginalised (Brown 2015; Pereira & Drimie 2016). This

⁹ 26% of the South African population is considered food insecure, and a similar percentage of children between the ages of one and three are stunted (Pereira & Drimie 2016). The South African National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey reveals disturbingly high prevalences of hunger, food insecurity (26 percent of population), early childhood stunting (26.5 percent of 1-3 year olds) - National Food Consumption Survey (Pereira & Drimie 2016: 20-21)

food system also reflects the broader rifts and inequalities in society: the spatial and economic legacies of apartheid continue to determine who has access to land, as well as to healthy affordable food (Ledger 2016, Pereira & Drimie 2016). South African agricultural economist Tracy Ledger (2016) identifies food as a ‘forgotten human right’, representing the largest obstacle and threat to an equitable society.

A nutrition transition towards urban living and cheap, highly processed foods contributes towards a double disease burden that both reflects and contributes to the complexity of the food system and related trends of urbanisation, food price volatility and under-nutrition (Pereira & Drimie 2016: 21). In many different spaces, and with a growing sense of urgency, it seems - - farmworkers, children, the unemployed all are voicing their cries for food and land, sovereignty and agency, access and justice, satiety and sustenance (Moyo 2017).

2.4.1 Mental models, food geographies and narrative networks

Writing of storytelling in the food system, Miller and Solin (2015: 672) argue that people develop mental models, by which they mean worldviews that are ‘developed through observation and experience’ as a way of dealing with complexities and shaping transformations in the food system. It is through storytelling, they argue, that people make their mental models of the food system explicit, and thus available to be shared and understood by others (Miller & Solin 2015: 672). No less important, they argue, storytelling also serves as a tool to enable people to adapt or adjust their mental models based on new understandings they gain through being exposed to the perspectives of others (Miller & Solin 2015). Miller and Solin (2015: 675) argue that it is difficult to ‘plan’ a process that will lead to change in the food system because the system is so complex -- and therefore that change is rather realised through ‘stimulating an adaptive response, through which many tiny individual changes compound to bring about large-scale change.

The authors regard storytelling as a social process that builds social capital in the food system, resulting in a collective capacity for adaptive responses from

which ‘food system resiliency¹⁰ may emerge’ (Miller & Solin 2015: 676). This approach is based on the idea that everyone has their own particular food narrative to tell, which situates their personal history and experiences within broader cultural narratives of food, and shapes the way they think and act in the food system (Miller & Solin 2015: 672). As people connect their own food experiences, as well as those shared by others, to a widening picture of the food system, the authors argue, they begin to see their own agency differently, and are able to act in the food system with a clearer sense of purpose (Miller & Solin 2015).

For Miller and Solin (2015) processes of deepening the narratives about where our food comes from, and our relationships to place and ecology, begin to make it possible to envision and enact transformations: ‘we start to see the story narrative deepened from one of simply consuming food to a story that includes our relationship to our community and our community’s relationship to the land and other communities, near and far’ (2015: 675). This happens, they argue, because through story and storytelling, people are better able to understand how to ‘engage in ways that are consistent with their values and intentions’ (2015: 675).

Place is another powerful concept that is relevant to story, with different cultural, political, ecological meanings attached to it, reflected for example in the provenance of certain foods being associated with a particular place (Wiskerke 2009; Lyon 2014; Brown 2015; Masterson et al. 2017). This reflects what Brown refers to as the situated nature of resilience (Brown 2015).

Wiskerke (2009: 370) observes that alternative food geographies have been emerging as a clear ‘countermovement’ to industrial food, with its tendencies towards ‘disconnecting’, ‘disembedding’ and ‘disentwining’ the intricate relationships between people, food and geography. The idea of local food geographies is to reconnect, embed and intertwine food within regional

¹⁰ Miller and Solin (2015: 672) define resilience in the context of food systems as ‘(t)he capacity of our food system to adapt to rapid change, to reorganize so that people are well fed without adverse consequences’.

cultures, economies, and ecologies, through local networks to connect different food system actors, localize more of the food economy, promote the uniqueness of local terroir and culture, and create new synergies in how food intersects with related areas such as public health, urban planning and education (Wiskerke 2009: 383). This concept resonates with Brown's core resilience capacities of rootedness, which is likewise concerned with concepts and place, identity and belonging; and resistance, which deals with the transformative potential of different value systems, reflected in Wiskerke's observation that alternative food geographies gain traction not by challenging the industrial food system directly, but rather by enacting an alternative vision of a food system that appeals to people's values and place attachments (Wiskerke 2009: 383).

While the narrative of 'placeless' geography simplifies and obscures all the complex relationships and processes of food, essentially writing the story out of the story -- the alternative narrative is infinitely more complex, creative and rife with possibility -- in that it is a narrative of reclaiming food from being just a placeless commodity, and attempting to restore the stories of food (its provenance, unique regional characteristics and cultural significance and social justice potency) as part of the experience of food and values that people attach to that food (Wiskerke 2009).

Stories provide frames, mental models and cognitive tools for processing complexity and connecting disparate events (Lejano et al. 2013). Expanding on the work of Solin and Miller, a somewhat related idea is expressed in the concept of narrative networks, developed by Lejano, et al. (2013). The authors argue that informal networks often self-organise or coalesce around particular issues (as will be explored with indigenous food, in Chapter 5), as people are attracted to the network through a common story. The authors see narratives as 'essential in catalysing and sustaining environmental networks, and enabling them to exert influence' (Ingram et al. 2015: 3). A narrative network is seen as a 'mutually constitutive group of actors (human and non-human) and ideas' held together by the 'glue' of a shared narrative, or narratives (Ingram et al. 2015: 4)... 'By mutually constituting, we mean that a

narrative that members of the group voice is what organizes people and gives the group structure; and, it is in the assemblage of actors that we find a community of narrators that allows the emergence of the narrative' -- with all of its rich social, political, ecological, economic interconnections (Ingram et al. 2015: 4)

Emplotment is the term used by Lejano et al. (2013) to express the idea that common narratives are both constructed by and shared among members of informal networks concerned with a particular issue such as indigenous food. The emplotment is the overarching narrative around which the network takes shape (Lejano et al. 2013). The term plurivocity reflects the idea that each individual belonging to a particular narrative-network has their own unique way of expressing the broad narrative that is emplotted in the network (Lejano et al. 2013). This schema supports the view that each person formulates a story according to their own mental models, in complex interaction with broader collective identity constructs (Miller & Solin 2015).

This suggests that storytelling plays a role in activating self-organising processes in complex systems. Goldstein et al. (2012) highlight the potential for 'emergent and plurivocal narratives to unify and direct collective action without explicit planning coordination' (Goldstein et al. 2012). Poli's idea of 'learning to dance' with complex systems (2013: 142) is important, suggesting a different mode of engagement to the problem-solving mindset that tends to dominate in certain institutional, policy and governance settings (Goldstein et al. 2012). The authors argue for narrative to be understood and deployed as a way of engaging diverse communities in defining and building resilience on their own terms and in their own contexts. They see narratives as 'a way to express the subjective and symbolic meaning of resilience... to engage multiple voices and enable self-organising processes to decide what should be made resilient and for whose benefit' (Goldstein et al. 2012: 1285).

The narrative network approach underscores the fact that stories are all around us, whether seen and acknowledged or not, and that inclusive stories and narratives may serve to foster social cohesion (Lejano et al. 2013), as

well as 'enable people to creatively construct their own resilient possibilities' (Goldstein et al. 2012: 1286).

2.4.2 Narrative diversity at the margins

Kurtz (2014) argues that the modern world has suffered an impoverishment of narrative diversity. Just as a monoculture farming landscape with only a handful of different species features weakens the resilience of those crops and increases the risk they will be decimated by disease or become unfit for cultivation due to climate change, Kurtz points out that a community or society with a dearth of narratives suffers from a similar sort of lack of resilience, as its imaginative and anticipatory capacities are diminished through a thinning of the narratives (2014: 214). This supports a broader view of diversity as a resilience principle providing systems with a wide set of resources to draw from in times of disturbance or change (Biggs et al. 2012).

A view of stories as a social phenomenon supports the idea of narrative diversity, that stories are kept alive in social processes, and derive meaning from their interactions with other stories (Kurtz 2014). Relationships between members of a community; between storytellers and their listeners; between people of diverse identities, backgrounds, perspectives and interests in any particular issue – are activated through telling stories (Senehi 2002; Kurtz 2014). Through the telling of diverse stories by diverse people, wider sets of values and beliefs can be shared and challenged, shaped and altered, for example through the emplotment and plurivocity features of narrative networks (Lejano et al. 2013; Kurtz 2014; Svoboda 2015). Thus it is possible to think of complex adaptive social-ecological systems as being comprised of, and constituted from, many different narratives, expressed with many different voices, reflecting a diversity of different viewpoints; interacting with and influencing one another on different scales (Lejano et al. 2013). Following on that is the idea that individuals, communities, networks and society can all be strengthened by narrative diversity, and by contributing to, telling, and sharing these wider narratives (Lejano et al. 2013; Kurtz 2014; Brown 2015).

In the age of the Anthropocene, narrative diversity may hold even deeper relevance as new narratives emerge, with their rich potential to shape new values, assumptions, cultures and worldviews, as highlighted by Bennett et al. 2016. Expressing a biocentric perspective of 'Enlivenment', Weber (2013) argues, for example, that 'we have to consider <<life>> and <<aliveness>>¹¹ as fundamental categories of thought' (11). 'Enlivenment' is a word play on the idea of Enlightenment, which the author argues has instilled a tradition of not valuing or seeing the aliveness of life in our politics, economics and science (Weber 2013: 11). Weber calls this a 'crisis in global sensemaking', and argues for the need of '(a) new narrative of living relationships' (2013: 13).

Such narratives are emerging from strands of indigenous and posthuman thought, the latter which 'asks us to contend with the decentered individual, a person defined according to multiple and dynamic relations and contexts rather than a neat boundary around a brain or body' (Lejano et al. 2013: 18). Such narratives reflect a sense of what Bousquet et al. (2016) describe as 'ecological solidarity', as opposed to more traditional notions, to Western thought, of land stewardship, in which the human-nature relationship reflects values of management and control, rather than co-creation. The emergence of new worldviews and new narratives invites us to see differently, and food and story both offer bridges to re-establish connections between nature and culture (Griffiths 2015; Folke et al. 2016) as well as deeper connections to landscapes, ecologies, communities and an Animate Earth (Harding 2009). Furthermore, such narratives shed new light on important values and attributes of culture, perception (i.e. worldviews), diversity, identity, social and ecological connectivity and solidarity, participation, learning and innovation and resistance whose capacities for potentially contributing towards resilience have been explored in this chapter.

¹¹ Here I use the author's original punctuation marks.

2.4.3 Stories as Seeds

A seed is the embryo from which the potential of life emerges. Metaphorically, seeds often represent ideas (Haider & van Oudenhoven 2015). In a sense, stories can be seeds too (Kurtz 2014). Explorations of food, stories and transformations within alternative food geographies and in narrative networks connect to the idea of narrative diversity proposed by Cynthia Kurtz (2014). Kurtz (2014) likens a community's repository of story to a soil seed bank. Each story, like a seed, contains a kernel of life potential that may grow into a plant or a tree, but may also churn in deep layers of the soil. Stories 'have a hidden life, a sleeping potential' (Okri 2014). Seeds, like stories, may remain dormant for a long time and then suddenly surface at a time when conditions are ripe (Kurtz 2014).

2.5 Conclusion

This literature review has explored concepts of resilience, stories and narratives, and food, conceptualising the complexity and diversity of stories and narratives as social phenomena underpinning how people and groups both construct and navigate their worlds. As people are forced by the Anthropocene to reckon with the deep reverberations of human agency across societies, ecosystems and on a planetary scale, I have argued, stories offer a powerful tool for analysing difficult questions around ways in which resilience capacities can be developed and harnessed in times of turbulent change, disruption and disturbance. New narratives, and, crucially, diverse narratives, are needed to reflect diverse values that speak to an awareness of the profound interconnectedness and relationality of life. The flexible and integrative powers of stories suggests the rich potential of analysing narratives through resilience frames to develop insight into some of the intangible aspects of resilience capacities. Stories and narratives offer ways of developing insight into lived resilience, or the ways in which people experience, define and develop resilience in increasingly complex social-ecological contexts (Brown 2015). By introducing the story of food in the vulnerable Anthropocene space of the Western Cape, I have set a context for further exploration of how social innovators are responding to heightening

social-ecological challenges through the stories they envision and tell, through a richness of relationships and connections within alternative food geographies and narrative networks, and the narrative diversity that is supported through rich engagements in these spaces.

As will be developed in Chapter 5, I envision the stories presented in this thesis to be repositories of narrative diversity. I consider the situated nature of these stories within both alternative food geographies, and within narrative networks as important features that allows this narrative diversity to develop and thrive. In Chapters 5 and 6, I explore the idea that the places and networks represented among the Seeds of the Good Anthropocenes projects that have been part of my study are important repositories of narrative diversity where seeds (and stories) of the future may be germinating.

Chapter 3: The art of storymaking

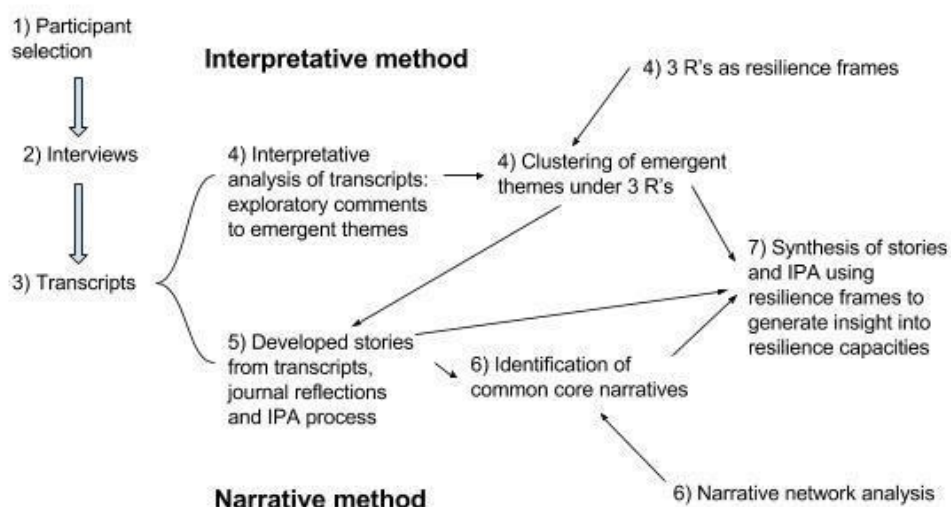
3.1 Introduction

The past few decades have seen increasing acceptance and use of narrative methods in academic research, particularly in the humanities and social research, as more traditional positivist methodologies are being recognised as inadequate in compassing the complexities and subjectivities of the human experience (Goodson & Gill 2011). Some advantages of a narrative approach are that it lends flexibility to the research process, allowing for the mixing of genres, interdisciplinarity, combinations of modern and postmodern discourses, and insight and analysis across the different scales of lived experience, ranging from the individual to a society or culture as a whole (Goodson & Gill 2011: 20).

For this study I devised a method that I term storymaking, which combines several different techniques and approaches. In brief, I selected and interviewed social innovators, and constructed stories about their experiences, which I then analysed, drawing on both narrative and interpretative methods. In the analysis, I drew out common themes and contrasts in their stories, and synthesized these through resilience frames in order to reflect on some of the intangible, value-driven, symbolic and contextual aspects of resilience.

The steps of storymaking described in this chapter include 1) participant selection; 2) in-depth interviews; 3) transcription; 4) analysis of transcripts using the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) method; 5) production of in-depth profile stories of each food innovator; 6) analysis of stories using the narrative network method (Lejano et al. 2013); and 7) a synthesis of these two forms of analysis (IPA and narrative network analysis) through Brown's three core resilience capacities of Rootedness, Resourcefulness and Resistance (2015). Figure 3.1 illustrates how I combined all of these different steps in the process of storymaking.

Figure 3.1: The steps of the storymaking process



The storymaking method develops two strands of analysis from the interview transcripts: an interpretative method (top) and a narrative method (below) which intersect at different points in the analysis, for example as the emergent themes developed through interpretative analysis (step 4) inform the story development (step 5). These two strands then converge in synthesis (step 7). (Sources: Smith et al. 2009; Brown 2015)

Before describing these steps, I first provide an overview of the IPA framework. I do this because Steps 1-4 of storymaking fall under the banner of IPA, and it will be useful to first have an overall understanding of the method before getting to the specific details of my study. This is discussed in the following section (3.2). Steps 5 and 6 are then covered under the narrative network section (3.3). Following this I illustrate how I synthesised these approaches with resilience frames in section 3.4.

3.2 Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

IPA offers a thorough and structured framework to guide a process of interpreting stories and lived experiences described by research participants during in-depth interviews (Smith et al. 2009). The IPA method suited the Seeds project well as a form of analysis, as most participants identified particular life experiences which were important to the story of how or why their respective Seeds were formed. IPA is a qualitative method of experiential and psychological research, which draws on aspects of

phenomenology, the detailed philosophical study of human experience; hermeneutics, the study of interpretation; and idiography, the study of the particular (Smith et al. 2009: 11). Essentially, the methodology employs a 'double hermeneutic' -- in which 'the researcher is trying to make sense of the participant trying to make sense of what is happening to them' (Smith et al. 2009: 3). Thus some of the qualities required of an IPA researcher are: 'open-mindedness; flexibility; patience; empathy; and the willingness to enter into, and respond to, the participant's world' (Smith et al. 2009: 55).

In general, an IPA study is conducted as a step-by-step process. For clarity, I first present the distinct steps of IPA here in brief, which are as follows:

- 1) Study participants are selected. Smith et al. (2009) recommend selecting between three and six study participants in order to strike a balance between the richness of individual data that is captured and the development of key themes through which participants' experiences connect and contrast;
- 2) A broad framework for conducting interviews is prepared, which may include a broad set of questions or ideas to help guide the interview; yet at the same time should be responsive to, and perhaps to some extent guided by, the participants' interests (Smith et al. 2009);
- 3) A flexible, open-ended and in-depth interview is conducted with each study participant to elicit rich data for analysis;
- 4) A detailed verbatim transcript of each interview is produced, which as well as words should capture as much of the interview's emotional tone as possible, such as laughter or thoughtful pauses in the conversation (Smith et al. 2009). Through the act of transcribing, familiarity with the interview text begins to develop and the process of interpretation effectively begins;
- 5) Interview transcripts, once completed, are read and re-read several times, to further develop familiarity with the structure, narrative content and flow of each interview, and an awareness of particular patterns and intersecting narratives that are threaded through each encounter (Smith et al. 2009);

- 6) Next, the interview transcript is worked through systematically, with the researcher highlighting significant passages and making exploratory comments on the particular language, emotional tenor, description, story or conceptual idea being expressed in that passage. Smith et al. (2009) note the provisional nature of these exploratory comments, which may be subject to change and reinterpretation up until the point where the written analysis is finalised.
- 7) From the exploratory comments, emergent themes are developed. This involves distilling each exploratory comment into a short phrase attempting to capture the essence of what was said in terms meant to 'contain enough particularity to be grounded and enough abstraction to be conceptual' (Smith et al. 2009: 92). Emergent themes are then numbered and compiled into a table in the order that they arose. (Emergent themes of this study are provided in Appendix A). In this phase, it must be acknowledged that the work becomes more interpretative, and thus begins to draw more on the researcher and less on the participant (Smith et al. 2009). 'However, 'the you' is closely involved with the lived experiences of the participant -- and the resulting analysis will be a product of both of your collaborative efforts' (Smith et al. 2009: 92).
- 8) Emergent themes are then connected and clustered into broader or more generalised themes.
- 9) Interpretations are then shared with study participants for their feedback.

In the sections of this chapter that follow, I describe how I followed this framework through my interviews with participants as well as through the interpretative process.

3.2.1 Selection of participants

I selected five food innovators to interview in this study (Box 3.1). All the participants were offered the choice of being anonymous in this study, and all

gave permission to be identified by their real names¹². I define food innovator by applying Biggs et al.'s definition of a social innovator (2010) -- an individual engaged 'in the creation and dissemination of new concepts, strategies and processes of change within their social context, potentially contributing towards radical disruptions and the emergence of novelty' -- to a person working to change the food system. Each individual was selected because of their core involvement and the innovative roles they have played within food related projects based in the Western Cape, selected from the Seeds project database. I chose Seeds projects that were established within the last five years, and that had a person within them who fit my description of a food innovator who was willing to be interviewed. I had met Khan previously, as described in Chapter 4, and was inspired by her work on indigenous foods, seeds and social justice. I sought other examples of projects reflecting alternative value systems, such as a strong focus on indigenous foods.

¹² All the participants signed consent forms and indicated their willingness to be identified. I then reconfirmed that each participant was still willing to be identified with real names, after they had reviewed the parts of the thesis relevant to them.

Box 3.1: Participants selected for this study

Zayaan Khan	A seed systems and indigenous food activist who coordinates the Slow Food Youth Network Southern Africa. Coming from a background of land rights and political activism in the South African food system, she embraces a vision of creativity, cultural vitality and youth empowerment, expressed in the ideas of an 'indigenous food revival' and seed sovereignty.
Chuma Mgcayi	A founding member of Tyisa Nabanye, a permaculture farm located at ERF 81 ¹³ in Cape Town city bowl on underutilised land owned by the military, which has built a strong local and creative food community. Trained as a performing artist and also involved with Slow Food Youth Network, she integrates food activism and artistic creativity, or 'artivism'.
Loubie Rusch	An indigenous food activist who is pioneering small scale cultivation of edible indigenous plants, with a particular interest in contributing towards a vibrant local food culture and economy and a climate resilient future in the Western Cape.
Nazeer Sunday	A farmer-activist who is developing a model of small-scale agroecological farming on the Philippi Horticultural Area, a unique farming area within greater Cape Town which produces much of the city's fresh produce and plays an important part in securing access to healthy food among the urban poor (Battersby-Lennard & Haysom 2012).
Kobus van der Merwe	A chef based in the small west coast fishing village of Paternoster, exploring hyper-local indigenous food as a

¹³ ERF 81 refers to the plot of land where Tyisa Nabanye is located

	way of reconnecting to the local ecology, landscape and seasonal rhythms.
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I chose to focus on going in-depth with a small number of individuals connected to Seeds projects, rather than focusing more broadly on the communities around a particular Seed, because delving into the richness of personal experience yields both a deeper insight into the underlying values expressed in each seed, and a richer comparison among key individuals connected with a small selection of different seeds (Smith et al. 2009).

Thus my selection criteria were:

- 1) Key individuals in food-related Seeds projects located in the Western Cape, South Africa;
- 2) Seeds which are relatively newly established (since 2010) and are thus in the midst of shaping their identities and seeking traction;
- 3) Core involvement of a food innovator whose work has a social and an ecological dimension within a clearly defined local context;
- 4) I also looked for evidence of interest in alternative value systems, reflected for example in a strong interest in indigenous foods among some of the Seeds;
- 5) Without being too rigid or directly intentional about it, I also sought to engage with participants reflecting a diverse cross-section of society in the Western Cape, in terms of age, race, gender, culture, career, language.

The people I chose to interview were largely mavericks, not affiliated with any particular institution, but were rather creating and positioning themselves in the spaces between institutions, and within collaborative networks, in order to be able to innovate and operate with relative freedom from constraints of routine, bureaucracy, mandate and established practices (Lejano et al. 2013; Khan 2016; Rusch 2016). This independent, self-reliant characteristic among the individuals I interviewed struck me as being important to my purpose of exploring some of the less visible dimensions of transformation that narrative

methods potentially make available, such as the role of alternative values, beliefs and worldviews (Lejano et al. 2013; Kurtz 2014; Sage 2014; Bennett et al. 2016).

3.2.2 Preparation for interviews

In planning for the interviews, I found several concepts from Narrative Inquiry to be useful. Narrative Inquiry is a qualitative research method, using personal narratives as both a subject and method of research (Clandinin 2007). It is concerned with the particularities of 'lived human experience', as reflected in the stories that people both 'live and tell', and understands the human self as being enmeshed in multiple layers of stories through which a sense of self is continuously emerging (Clandinin 2007: 41). This is expressed in terms of a reciprocal agency between the person and the broader discourses that form the backdrop to his or her life (Clandinin 2007).

The intersubjective and 'profoundly relational' nature of interaction between the research participant and the researcher is also recognised (Clandinin 2007:12). Narrative inquiry is described as a 'liminal space', where the researcher must navigate the complex terrain around power dynamics, sometimes 'crossing cultural discourses, ideologies and institutional boundaries,' not only in relation to the research participant, but also in terms of 'systemic injustices' that arise from the stories told and observed: 'In this work they often encounter both deep similarities and profound differences between their own experience and those with whom they work, neither of which can be reduced to the other... The result is less a single harmonious explanation of their world than it is an expanded understanding of the tensions and conflicted possibilities in the stories people live' (Clandinin 2007: 59).

Also recognised is a temporal dimension to these stories: the understanding that stories contain no fixed points of reference or objective truths (Cilliers 1998), but rather a story told in the present about the past reflects the present perspective. The same story may never be told twice: it will always shift shape in relation to the present understanding of the teller, the audience and other circumstances (Clandinin 2007: 61). At the same time, the inquiry itself is an

intervention that carries its own potential of shifting things: it 'is an act within a stream of experience that generates new relations that then become part of future experience' (Clandinin 2007). Thus implicit in the methodology is an understanding that stories are shaped by their interactions with layers of other stories, discourses and narratives (Kurtz 2014). This inherent complexity is reflected in the different scales at which stories and narratives both operate, interacting with and embedded in other stories, which are lived and told by the individual, the community or group, and broader society (Clandinin 2007; Kurtz 2014). This understanding of different relational and temporal dynamics of stories struck me as very compatible with a complexity ontology, and an appreciation for the inherent complexity of narratives as explored in Chapter 2.

3.2.2.1 Framing questions

Because my research was exploratory, I worked hard to frame a broad set of questions that would give sufficient shape to the inquiry and elicit responses relevant to my research question, but that would not narrow the conversation by imposing a rigid agenda, or too many of my own views or assumptions about resilience. I tried to introduce broad lines of questioning, and ask open-ended questions that would allow participants plenty of latitude to speak freely about their challenges and aspirations, and the things they considered to be most important to them. Smith et al. (2009: 58) urge being generous in allowing the interview to be led by participants' concerns: 'These unexpected turns are often the most valuable aspects of interviewing: on the one hand, they tell us something we did not even anticipate needing to know; on the other, because they arise unprompted, they may well be of particular importance to the participant'. I asked questions that I thought might elicit stories to highlight some of the intangible aspects of resilience, such as the values, beliefs, and worldviews of the person or the Seed. I wanted to leave plenty of space for participants to express themselves without being directed or constrained by a particular line of questioning. This involved striking a fine balance. In particular, I wanted to stimulate reflections on important concepts in resilience thinking, particularly in terms of how participants experienced,

dealt with and created transformation -- but to cast these questions in ordinary language, avoiding jargon.

Thus some of the general lines of questioning I developed were:

- 1) How did this Seed form?
- 2) What influenced and/or motivated you in forming this Seed?
- 3) How does your life story relate to the story of the Seed?
- 4) What sustains your commitment to the Seed?

3.2.3 Conducting interviews

I conducted in-depth interviews with five social innovators in the Western Cape food landscape over a nine-month period (July 2016 to March 2017), to elicit their own personal stories, as well as the stories of their respective Seeds. I tried to structure the interviews to be more generative than extractive, and hoped the exchange would be empowering and valuable experience for the participant. I was aware that the sharing of stories can be a deeply personal and sensitive undertaking, and that often the most insightful stories come from a place of raw emotional honesty and vulnerability (Kurtz 2014). I always tried to be mindful of this, and to treat the participants as well as their stories with sensitivity and respect, for example by not pushing a particular line of questioning if it felt too intrusive (Clandinin 2007).

As I began conducting interviews, I also turned for inspiration, grounding and refamiliarization with my own craft to the podcasts of Krista Tippett, a highly acclaimed American journalist whose in-depth interviews with eminent poets, philosophers, scientists and thinkers have struck me as extraordinary in the deep truths of the human experience that are revealed in conversation between an interviewer and participant. I considered the ethics of appreciative, thoughtful and intuitive deep listening to be an entry to seeing the world from the participant's perspective and faithfully capturing their stories (Smith et al. 2009).

Thus the interviews I conducted were loosely structured and collaborative exchanges. I asked participants to describe their direct experiences of participating in their relative Seeds, describing how the seed was conceptualised; what particular issues or context the Seed was/is responding to; how the person's own particular story, values, identity and worldview intersects with the formation and development of the Seed.

As the interviews took place, I kept the following questions in the back of my mind as a preliminary way of beginning to connect and contrast different themes and threads of the stories as I gathered them. For example:

- 1) Are there similarities and contrasts in the kinds of strategies and priorities the food innovators describe in the process of developing the respective Seeds?
- 2) What seems to motivate and inspire them?
- 3) The ways that they both encounter and respond to various challenges along the way?
- 4) Are there particular experiences which seem important in shaping their value systems, how they see the world and approach making change?

In particular, I listened out for, and sought to elicit, stories (i.e. accounts of specific events and experience, as opposed to generalisations or opinions) from participants which might shed some light on these questions (Kurtz 2014). When participants told stories, I would ask them to reflect on the meaning of the story, asking questions such as 'Why do you think that happened?' or 'How did you feel about it?', thus also capturing some of the participants' interpretations of their own stories (Kurtz 2014).

I tried to make a mental note as I noticed points of similarity or contrast among participants, in terms of how they expressed themselves, the important themes in their work, and places where their experience resonated with theory. For example, I noted in the course of doing interviews that most participants told stories about personal experiences which made them see the world differently and were significant to the story of the Seed itself. It also did

not take me long to recognise that several of the participants had important relationships with one another which were also significant to their stories, a point I will return to with narrative network analysis later in this chapter. Thus in a sense, the first layer of interpretation and analysis began during the interviews themselves, and my observations during this phase informed my choices of methods and how I developed subsequent steps of the process, such as bringing in Lejano et al.'s narrative network analysis (2013) and Brown's 3 R's (2015).

All interviews were recorded. After each interview I transcribed the recording in full, trying also to capture nonverbal information such as laughter or pauses in the conversation (Smith et al. 2009). Once completed, I sent each participant a copy of their interview transcript by email, including a brief list of my own observations and reflections on the key themes of the interview. I invited participants to respond with their own impressions and reflections on the experience. Later on, I returned to these brief reflections to help shape the stories that I wrote in step 5 of the storymaking process, and that are presented in Chapter 4.

3.2.3.1 Connection through place

Place served as an important prompt during all the interviews. Several of the interviews took place at the physical site of the Seed. In other interviews, the place served as an entryway into the person's world. One interview with Rusch, the indigenous food innovator, for example, took place along Kommetjie beach where she had developed much of her early knowledge of foraging in the landscape. Another, with van der Merwe, the chef, took place in the coastal nature reserve where he visits for regular inspiration in developing his seasonal menus.

I asked Khan, the coordinator of the Slow Food Youth Network, to choose a location for the interview that was significant to her. This experiential and embodied context was important, reflecting the observation of Lejano et al. (2013: 2), that '... the environment is often discussed in scientific terms that can obscure motivations driven from memory, feelings informed by tradition,

family, and beauty, and other rationales for behavior that can seem irrational from a technical perspective. Box 3.2 lists the location of each interview. These locations are also labelled on a map of the Western Cape (Appendix A).

Box 3.2: Locations of interviews with food innovators

Zayaan Khan	Interview 1: Signal Hill, Cape Town Interview 2: Woodstock, Cape Town
Chuma Mgcoyi	Interview 1: Tyisa Nabanye, Cape Town Interview 2: Surplus Peoples Project offices, Salt River, Cape Town
Loubie Rusch	Interview 1: Moya we Khaya, Khayelitsha Interview 2: Kommetjie
Nazeer Soday	Interview 1: Vegkop Farm, Philippi Horticultural Area
Kobus van der Merwe	Interview 1: Wolfgat Restaurant, Paternoster Interview 2: Cape Columbine Nature Reserve, Paternoster

3.2.3.2 Connection through food

I found that the direct sensory experience of food, along with gathering edible plants from the landscape with participants, enriched the study in small ways: harvesting small bunches of dune spinach from a municipal median strip¹⁴ adjacent to Kommetjie beach with Loubie Rusch and Olive Zgambo, and later tasting these succulent leaves in our lunch; sampling tiny brown sage flowers growing in the landscape with Zayaan Khan; tasting toasted dune celery seeds with Kobus van der Merwe. These small experiences of tasting things growing in the landscape appeared to stimulate memories and associations and help prompt richer stories and reflections from participants.

¹⁴ While the picking of wild plants is illegal without a permit, harvesting cultivated plants from such areas maintained by the municipality is permissible.

3.2.3.3 Perceptual awareness

In some of my interviews, I was struck by ways in which participants connected deeply and emotionally to food, nature, ecology and landscape. In terms of the phenomenology part of IPA, I was particularly interested in the link between experience and perception, reflected in an understanding of the importance of our embodiment in the world: ‘the embodied nature of our relationship to that world and how that led to the primacy of our own individual situated perspective on the world’ (Merleau-Ponty, quoted in Smith et al. 2009: 18-21). For me, this idea raised an interesting tension, as a number of participants reflected on the importance of feeling connected to and inspired by the complex living relationships of the natural world. Through having an awareness of different perceptual and emotional dimensions to how people connect to the world around them, often linked to worldview and cultural belief systems, I felt I could capture more of the richness and significance that was expressed by participants (Harding 2009). Thus this sense of embodiment in an animate world, and a relational view of life, provided an appreciative backdrop to, for example, discussions on entomophagy, the practice of eating insects, with Khan (2016).

3.2.4 Exploratory commenting and emergent themes

3.2.4.1 Working with the hermeneutic circle

As I began working through the interview transcripts, the idea of the hermeneutic circle was a powerful way of working back and forth between the parts and the whole of my interview data, and navigating their interlinkages. The hermeneutic circle speaks to an intuitive and ‘dynamic, non-linear style of thinking’ and is likewise ‘concerned with the dynamic relationship between the part and the whole, at a series of levels (Smith et al. 2009: 28). To understand any given part, you look at the whole; to understand the whole, you look at the parts’ (Smith et al. 2009: 28). Using this conceptual approach enabled me to navigate back and forth between intensive focus on the fine-grained detail of a particular discrete story, and then to connect this back to a larger narrative ‘whole’ that began to emerge as I worked my way through the interview

transcripts, finding different layers of meaning at these different levels (Smith et al. 2009: 28).

The idiographic focus of IPA, its concern not only with detail, but also with the subjectivities of personal experience, for example in the unique way that an individual perceives a specific event, and the specificities of each unique context (Smith et al. 2009: 29), also provided a useful framework for drawing connections between the particular nature of an individual's personal experience, and the broader or more universal themes to emerge in the data.

3.2.4.2 Process and ethics of interpretation

The processes of conducting interviews, developing transcripts and reading and thinking about the transcripts happened in simultaneity. As soon as I had completed transcripts of the first interview with each participant (as well as a completed transcript from a second interview with Khan), I began working on the IPA analysis, generating exploratory comments on the transcripts and thinking provisionally about emergent themes.

In working through each transcript, and in the process to some extent re-living each interview, I often thought of myself as being in dialogue with each interview, and experimented with making colour-coded notes in the margins of each text. The exploratory commenting was a playful exercise which developed over many readings and re-readings.

I colour coded my comments according to several categories: 'descriptive' (keywords, phrases, events, assumptions, emotional responses, things that mattered to participants); 'linguistic' (pronoun use, pauses, repetitions, fluency, use of metaphor); and 'conceptual' (opening up a range of provisional meanings) (Smith et al 2009: 83). In the process of doing this, I also began to draw conceptual and thematic connections to the interviews with other participants as well as to the theory explored in Chapter 2. When connections such as this occurred, I made a note of it within the exploratory comment.

Thus through the exploratory commenting, I developed a sense of being in dialogue not only with each particular interview, but also in an expanded dialogue across all of the interviews. Sometimes a point raised in one interview would remind me of something another participant had expressed in a different context. I tried to catalogue all of these impressions faithfully, yet at the same time to resist drawing any definitive conclusions about anything while many different parts of the analysis were simultaneously emerging.

In this phase of the analysis, I also began to notice common themes of identity, process and power dynamics articulated by participants that resonated with Katrina Brown's theory of 'everyday resilience' as something that is 'lived and practiced' among diverse communities, and can be distilled into three core themes of Rootedness, Resourcefulness and Resistance (Brown 2015). I then also began to explore this potential link further in my exploratory comments, while trying at the same time to resist forcing my interpretations into these categories, and remaining open to other possible interpretations.

Eventually, I developed a numbered list of exploratory comments from each interview. This was derived by working through each interview transcript chronologically, so that the number assigned to each comment reflects its sequential order in the transcript. From this numbered list, I next developed a set of emergent themes. This step served as a bridge between the general and the particular, as I attempted to move from commenting on the direct experiences and reflections of participants, towards connecting this with a more general or abstract theme or idea. The emergent themes were likewise numbered according to the exploratory comment they derived from. Appendix C shows two examples, drawn from Mgcoyi's interview transcript, of how this was done¹⁵.

¹⁵ For a complete table of emergent themes clustered under Brown's three major themes of Rootedness, Resourcefulness and Resistance, see Appendices A and B.

Navigating the ethics of interpretation was very important in the process. As I moved into the interpretive phases, generating emergent themes from the exploratory comments and linking these themes, I had to be guided by a sense of respect and responsibility to the person, and an awareness of the power dynamics of interpreting another person's story. As I moved through the interpretations, I tried to keep asking myself: how do I think this person would feel about what I am saying? Would they recognise their own experience in the interpretation?

As the examples in Appendix C illustrate, the analysis moved in stages from the particular to the abstract, while at the same time retaining the analysis of the particular within the exploratory comments (Smith et al. 2009). It was often difficult to pinpoint exactly where one comment should end and the next should begin, however. Thus the process of analysis, while highly ordered, was at the same time messy, and continued to emerge and evolve right up until the final draft was written. In short, the process was far messier than the two illustrative examples provided in the Appendix might suggest.

3.3 Narrative network analysis

After completing my preliminary analysis using IPA, and arriving at the 3 R's as key themes under which all the emergent themes could be clustered, I wrote the stories of my encounters with each participant, as presented in Chapter 4. I drew heavily from the interview transcripts, as well as from separate field notes I made after each interview. I also drew on the preliminary lists of themes I had developed to give feedback to participants along with their interview transcripts, to shape the stories. I also drew from the exploratory comments and emergent themes generated through the IPA process. In the process of writing these stories, a new layer of analysis emerged, as I began to recognise the importance of narrative networks in participants' stories (Lejano et al. 2013).

As I have noted, I had observed participants expressing a sense of the importance of their relationships with each other and with other human and non-human actors in the narratives they expressed to me. This phenomenon

connected to the idea of narrative network analysis developed by Lejano et al. (2013). The authors argue that narratives serve as glue in networks, holding together diverse groups of people and other actors who identify with a shared story about a common cause, such as indigenous food or food sovereignty; and that these core narratives provide a shared source of identity and meaning to members of the network (Ingram et al. 2015). Thus I began to develop a view of participants in my study as being participants also in narrative networks. I began to think of these narrative networks, as well as the physical sites of the Seeds projects I visited, as being important spaces of narrative diversity. For example, I recognised the presence of a narrative network around indigenous food that was shared among several of the participants, as well as across a larger group of people, things and ideas (Lejano et al. 2013).

Two concepts in particular from narrative network analysis resonated as I was writing the stories and reflecting further on the similarities and contrasts among all the different interviews: emplotment and plurivocity (Lejano et al. 2013). As described in Chapter 2, emplotment reflects the idea of a common story shared in a network, while plurivocity reflects the idea that each actor in the network will have their own unique way of telling, understanding and relating to this common story of the network -- an idea that relates to Kurtz's concept of narrative diversity (2014). In the course of writing the stories and in the continuous analysis of the interviews¹⁶, I found it useful to think loosely in terms of how the different participants and their stories linked through narrative networks, particularly in terms of emplotment and plurivocity.

After I had completed drafts of the stories and the IPA process, I emailed participants a copy of their story as well as the sections of analysis drawn from their interviews, asking for comments, corrections and feedback. It was

¹⁶ As noted, I continued to refine my interpretations right up until the final stages of preparing this draft, as my understanding of the material and the themes and their interconnections continued to develop and strengthen through revisiting and reworking all the various texts. I often found that revising my draft would lead me back to adjust or refine the emergent themes and thematic clusters.

very important to recognise my own power as a storyteller, in shaping narratives and interpreting other people's stories. Thus asking participants for feedback was not just a necessary step to ensure accuracy, but also an important step towards balancing out this power dynamic and ensuring that I was held accountable for both the stories I created and their interpretations.

3.4 Rootedness, Resourcefulness, Resistance

As mentioned above, through the IPA process I began to cluster participants' stories and reflections into Brown's three key themes of Rootedness, Resourcefulness and Resistance. After testing a number of other themes and ideas, I finally settled on these three themes because I found, through the IPA analysis, that they seemed to best encapsulate participants' descriptions of how their work combined different conceptual, practical and transformational approaches. Working through the IPA analysis, clustering the emergent themes from each participant into broader categories, I also used the concepts of narrative diversity, emplotment and plurivocity to draw connections between each participant's unique forms of expression and the broader themes and narratives shared among many of the participants. Appendix C provides an illustrative example of my process of distilling emergent themes from the transcripts into broad, universal categories that could be related across all the participants' stories.

I repeated this exercise with all the participants' interviews until I had organised all the emergent themes into clusters. This exercise was messy and complex, as I found it difficult to fit many of the emergent themes into a single category, and then became overwhelmed in the process of trying to fit them under multiple overlapping categories. Once this messy step was completed, however, I found the numbering system for the emergent themes (Appendix A) provided a useful way of linking these themes across the stories in Chapter 4, the findings of the analysis and the synthesis of all the stories through resilience frames in Chapter 5.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described the framework and process I used to study and interpret the experiences of participants through their stories and narratives. I chose to focus more deeply on the lives and stories of a few participants, largely because I thought this focus on the individual, rather than on the group, would elicit the richer stories through encouraging people to reflect deeply on the connections between their life experiences, values and worldviews. I assumed these stories would also reveal richer insights into the capacities that contribute to resilience -- albeit through the eyes of a particular individual rather than a collective. This raises interesting questions around the role of an individual within a Seed (i.e. is the individual herself the Seed, is the individual the caretaker of a Seed, or a bearer within a larger collective that defines the Seed). This question of roles, among many others, will be explored in the presentation, the analysis and the synthesis of data in the following two chapters.

Chapter 4: Stories of food innovators in the Western Cape

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents step 5 of the storymaking process. In this chapter, I describe my encounters with each participant. These descriptions are not presented in a uniform style, but rather attempt to reflect something of the different experiential qualities and depths of engagement that emerged through each of these intersubjective interactions (Clandinin 2007). By intersubjectivity, I mean to acknowledge the relational dynamic of these encounters, which were shaped by two (or more) people coming together, bringing our own subjective worlds, values, beliefs and assumptions as a backdrop to the interview exchange (Clandinin 2007). That said, I have tried in each case to present the data in the form of a coherent story, balancing the strength of each person's voice in the text with my own editing for repetition, coherence, and an inevitable on emphasis certain themes, passages and interactions that I found particularly interesting or significant to my inquiry.

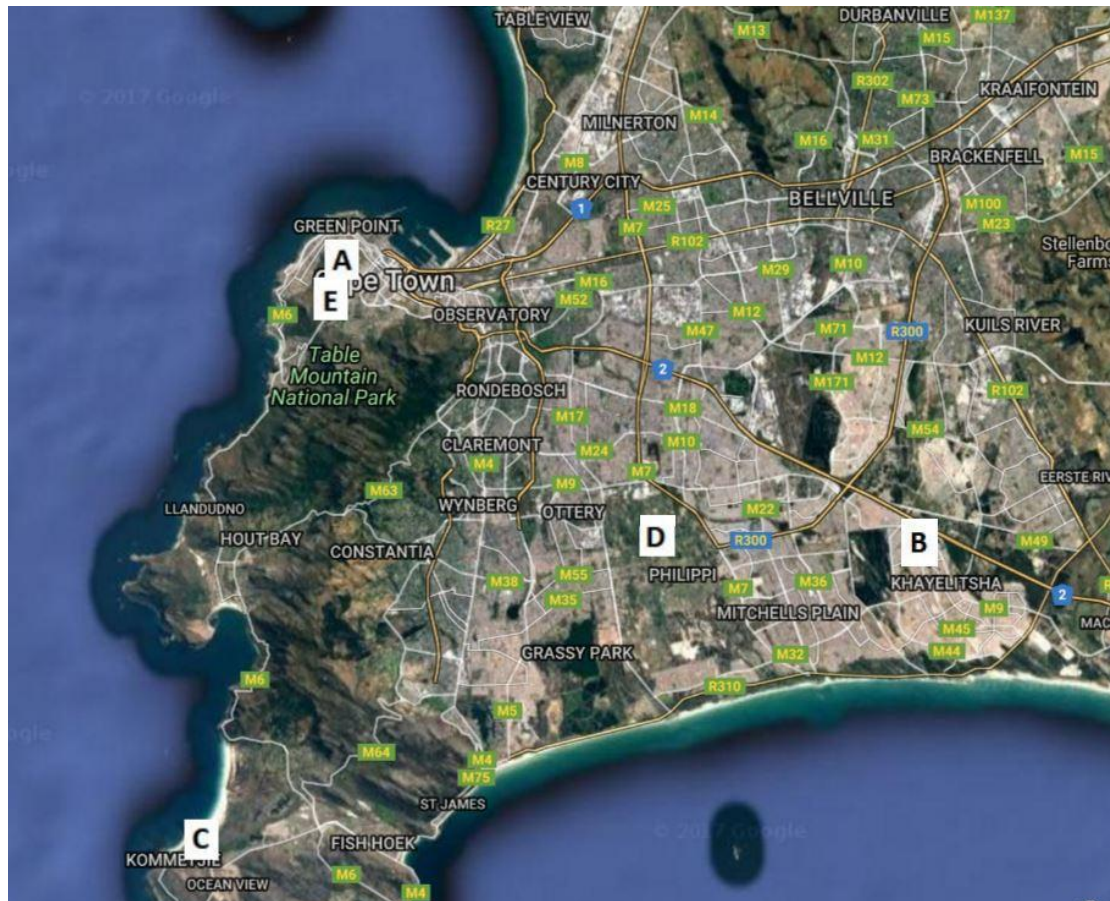
In addition, I provide an IPA number for each passage or quotation in the stories, so the reader can refer to the emergent themes and the 'clustering of emergent themes' tables provided in Appendices A and B, respectively, and track the development of these themes in the synthesis in Chapter 5.

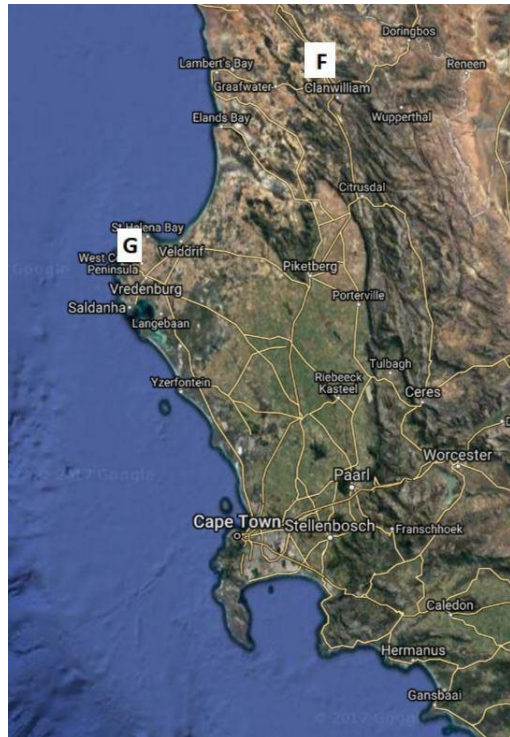
This chapter is lengthy. I found, after Cilliers (1998), that there was much in the interactions with participants that could not be reduced or condensed without losing essential qualities of the stories and interactions.

The maps below show the locations of the Seeds projects and interviews: Map 4.1 within the City of Cape Town where most of the seeds projects are located; and Map 4.2 shows a larger portion of the west coast of the Western Cape Province, including Paternoster where van der Merwe's sites, the

Wolfgat restaurant and the Cape Columbine Nature Reserve, are located, as well as the Cederberg Mountains where Rusch is embarking on a new community participatory research project.

Map 4.1. Satellite image of City of Cape Town with interview locations





Map Key:

A = Signal Hill, Zayaan Khan

B = Moya we Khaya, Loubie Rusch

C = Kommetjie, Loubie Rusch

D = Philippi Food & Farming

Campaign, Nazeer Sondag

E = Tyisa Nabanye, Chuma Mgcayi

F = Cederberg Mountains, Loubie
Rusch

G = Wolfgat Restaurant, Cape
Columbine Nature Reserve, Kobus
van der Merwe

Map. 4.2 Satellite image of west coast of Western Cape Province with project locations.

4.2 CHUMA MGCOYI, performing artist and founding member of Tyisa Nabanye permaculture farm

Tyisa Nabanye, also known officially as ERF 81, is a permaculture farm in the Cape Town City Bowl which operates 'informally' on under-utilised land owned by the South African Military. The land has been occupied since the 1990s, but in 2013 became the focus of concerted effort to develop a space for urban farming and community building, connecting two very different neighbourhoods, one affluent and predominately white, the other a Muslim community with deep historical roots facing contemporary pressures of gentrification (Onishi 2016, Mgcoyi 2016).

My first interview with Mgcoyi (August 2016) took place against a backdrop of uncertainty, as the community had recently been served with an eviction notice, giving an ultimatum to clear out by the end of August 2016. Following the eviction notice, the small community of residents living at Tyisa Nabanye (estimated by Mgcoyi as being eight or nine families), supported by members of the surrounding communities, mobilised a campaign to remain on the land, particularly through the popularity of the weekly Sunday farmers' market held on the land. As of this writing in July 2017, the community had not been evicted; however the future of Tyisa Nabanye remains insecure.



Photo 4.1 Through permaculture farming at Tyisa Nabanye, Chuma Mgcoyi has also connected with her grandmother's stories (Photo courtesy of Chuma Mgcoyi)

I follow Mgcoyi along a pathway up the hillside, until we reach a small clearing where the interview takes place, sitting amid a small planting of spinach. Over the next 40 minutes of interview, Mgcoyi describes her childhood and background in the performing arts, and how this led her to move to Cape Town from the Eastern Cape and take part in forming Tyisa Nabanye with a small group of friends. Growing up in the Eastern Cape, Mgcoyi was always inspired by her grandparents' stories of rural life, and she speculates that it may have been partly these stories that inspired her to a career in performing arts (9, 10). She recalls of her grandmother's stories:

'When she tells her stories, I have a picture of an ancient way of life, you go to the river and you take water. Because I grew up in the city, I was never

exposed to living off the land... what came out is how it wasn't like a job to them, it was fun... they would go fetch water in the river and there were games around that...' (Mgcoyi 2016: 20).

After high school she enrolled in performing arts college and completed most of her course work, but could not afford to graduate. Struggling to make it in the performing arts in the Eastern Cape, she moved to Cape Town in 2012 and lived with a cousin in Observatory. She struggled to make the rent with seasonal acting work, but in the meantime she had begun helping Andre Laubscher farm at ERF 81, and he invited her to stay on the property (Mgcoyi 2016: 1, 4).

There she joined a small community of friends who were becoming increasingly interested in permaculture. Fortuitously, she was awarded support for a two-week intensive training in permaculture through the organisation SEED (also in the 'Seeds' project database). She describes learning about permaculture as being transformative of her own life values as well as how she related to life itself:

I got to go into detail, just connecting and understanding the microorganisms, what is happening in the soil, the plants and what's indigenous... I've actually noticed that I was so ignorant not to know, not to even ask about the trees that surround me (Mgcoyi 2016: 9).

Among this small group of friends, the vision of Tyisa Nabanye developed. As Mgcoyi learned and connected to permaculture principles through her participation in Tyisa Nabanye, she also connected to other organisations and networks involving food sovereignty and justice (6, 7, 8, 11, 13). She landed an internship with the Environmental Monitoring Group, and she (along with Tyisa Nabanye as a whole) were closely connected with the emerging Slow Food Youth Network. Working with Slow Food in particular, Mgcoyi also began to appreciate the cultural and social dynamics of food, and particularly their impact on poverty. She says:

We don't see that actually to have a seed is important. Actually to grow your own food is important, and understanding another issue which is land. People will say they don't have land, but permaculture taught me, even if you don't have a huge piece of land, there are so many alternative ways of growing food in your own small space that you have. You can grow some few spinaches to feed yourself even if you don't have money to buy food (Mgcoyi 2016: 12).

Currently, Mgcoyi works with the Surplus People Project (SPP) on developing school gardens. Mgcoyi explains the vision of Tyisa Nabanye as follows:

'We didn't have money when we started (Tyisa Nabanye), but now people are starting to be entrepreneurs... It's showing people that even if you don't have something, you can start something from nothing, because we all have this abundance in nature, you just need people and ideas of what to do. I think it's an important thing for this place to be kept like this, because it's also about diversity, about bringing people from different backgrounds together, and with the different areas it's the same thing, because we are between Tamboerskloof and the Bo Kaap, but this place brings both sides into one place, and also people from Khayelitsha... People can share knowledge and celebrate Mother Earth, which is important. Sometimes we get caught up in politics and everything, and we're not actually looking at what we're doing to the soil, what we do to ourselves. There should be a time when we just stop and say thank you to nature for these surroundings, the air we breathe, all the stuff that's around us (24, 25, 26, 27, 28).'

Mgcoyi continued to describe how she had begun working to integrate her work on permaculture and Seeds with her performing arts background. She describes a theatre piece she has been developing:

This year it's time to integrate with my performing side of things... having a theatre piece that's coming soon, that's talking about seeds and culture and which will show the history that has had an impact on our daily lives through the migration and movement of leaving the rural areas, and going to the city

we tend to forget how we lived. I started writing about those things, and about how even my family and my grandparents used to share these stories with me (Mgcayi 2016: 15).

She describes how she has created a performance around the rich live potency of heritage and seeds:

'I work with seeds, I save seeds from the garden to plant for the next season... I'm trying now to conserve more heritage seeds, and for me integrating this with performing arts is also telling the story of what a seed can be. A seed is like a crop, but a seed can also be information that is planted in you... For example there was a seed that was planted in me when I started knowing about seeds. For me sharing this knowledge, a seed was planted in me. I know that more people will be aware of climate change, will be aware of environment and nature, and letting nature teach us, not actually controlling it. So seeds to me mean so many things: it means knowledge, it means collective minds that will share the same theme of working with nature, understanding nature (31, 32, 33, 34).'

Reading over our interview transcript later, it strikes me how little we spoke directly about the looming eviction, although at the time, through our encounter I felt powerfully moved by a sense of the uncertainty surrounding Tyisa Nabanye's future, particularly as I perceived a deep sense of connection and meaning that some people attached to the place and what it represents to them. Directly after our interview, Mgcayi and I took part in a small ritual ceremony that was being held to pray for the community and the land. On a shrub-covered hillside, looking across the city bowl to Devil's Peak and Table Mountain, together we stood in a circle and sang a simple chant over many repetitions:

What gives life will stand
And what does not will fall
The power is in our hands
Love will conquer all.

Walking back to my own home located across the City Bowl after my visit to Tyisa Nabanye, I recorded the following in my research journal:

Am feeling deeply touched by my visit to Tyisa Nabanye this morning -- the energy of the place, the beauty of life unfolding in the shadow of the mountain. Natural, cultivated, gentle rhythms of beautiful life. The rich metaphor of the Seed, it holds in this place. I felt like I was seeing it with new eyes this morning, helped by the vision of Chuma. It's easy to see the dereliction, the rubbish, the untidiness. But there is so much more to see. Following Chuma along the dirt pathways, the hidden pockets of garden, the spinach growing in tyres, the lavender and lemongrass bushes, all the indigenous things... the crowing of the chickens, it was as if stepping into another world.

Walking back, seeing the poverty of the city: poverty in terms of straight lines, concrete, roads, walls, fences, rubbish, gates and locks. [In contrast to] the openness and freedom, the smells, the variegation of the landscape, the flowers and the soil... The sacred ritual, worship in the outdoors in the bright feminine exuberance of flowers and seeds, scattered on the ground to be nourished into life. The emotion of the woman... And the vulnerability of this Seed.

This place evokes Griffiths (2015) writing about how nature and culture are often conceptualised as opposing one another in the Western canon, but in many indigenous traditions they are intertwined. These communities are spaces where new thinking can flourish and new connections can be made, even sometimes through the teachings of the land itself. Spacious lives holding sacred space in the city. It demonstrates to me that values and worldviews are pivotal in deciding what is saved and preserved, what is destroyed, what is nurtured and what is let to die of neglect.

As happened frequently after my interviews with participants, I was aware that my own way of seeing the world had subtly shifted, and was gently transformed.

In a follow-up interview conducted with Mgcoyi in her place of work at the Surplus Peoples Project, an NGO in Salt River in March 2017, Mgcoyi reflects more on the impact of permaculture principles in her life. She says:

Part of the journey is that I've learnt principles that work for the garden, but principles for how you create your lifestyle... Taking care of people, the ethics of life... the first principle is to observe and interact, now I not only use that in the garden, but if I'm facilitating a workshop... I've learned to observe more, get the answers from people and then see how you channel that, maybe use less energy in how you design... one of the principles is to store energy, so if I design it and it takes care of itself, I can move on to another thing. It shows in my life as I grow, not only in the systems I'm designing but in how I live (Mgcoyi 2017: 1).

For example, she says, due to work commitments and the uncertainty of Tyisa Nabanye, she has put her performance about Seeds, described in the previous interview, on the back burner. However, having developed a framework and outline for the performance, she was able to hand over the production to Zabalaza, a community theatre festival, in order that the broad themes of the work could still be realised (Mgcoyi 2017).

During this interview, Mgcoyi expresses concern for the future of Tyisa Nabanye, indicating the uncertainty of the area's future, as well as divisive personalities within the community, had sapped much of the energy from the project. Attendance at the weekly Sunday market had dwindled, and the permaculture garden had fallen under neglect. Residents of Tyisa were no longer working in the garden, harvesting and cooking their meals together as they had once done (Mgcoyi 2017). Mgcoyi, meanwhile, had thrown herself into work on an SPP project introducing gardens in schools in the Western Cape and the Northern Province (Mgcoyi 2017).

These experiences related by Mgcoyi raised interesting questions in my research, particularly about the people and structures that hold and support a seed, and what makes a viable medium for a seed to grow. Does a Seed have to be rooted in one physical place, or can the idea of it continue to flourish in other forms? While obviously concerned with the state of affairs at Tyisa Nabanye, Mgcoyi at the same time acknowledged that so much of what she had learnt, and the practical connections she had made, through being involved in Tyisa she was currently able to channel into her work on school gardens with SPP (Mgcoyi 2017).

Mgcoyi reflects on these questions as follows:

How I feel is that I am also accountable for what is happening there, so if there's nothing happening, I'm also accountable for not doing anything... Personally, I'd love to revive everything and start again as how we were before. It was nice just to harvest colours, beautiful food... It's been my healing, actually, my therapy, so for it not to be there, it's quite... I don't know how I feel about it, I don't want to say it sucks my energy, but it causes anxiety... Even if we revive, dealing with people is sometimes not easy, especially working as a group. Some of you might actually have the same vision, but not everyone is actually taking it in and understanding it, what we are actually doing and the impact it has. I think there was no conceptualising of what we were doing as a group, as much as we were doing it and people were getting involved... But you don't have the control. That's something that I'm dealing with now (2017: 2).

I ask Mgcoyi what she thinks she has learned from being part of the community. She responds:

My journey, when it comes to food, started on the farm, the interaction of the communities, people coming together and sharing knowledge. I learn from people, also being at this organisation, I wouldn't be here now doing what I'm doing with the schools if it wasn't for the permaculture training. It created

opportunities for me, and actually taking charge of my life to build a life. It has actually made me to be curious, what is my life about, and the style of my life. What is cool, and what is important, not only in food, but what am I wearing, the curiosity of what am I drinking, everything. It makes me be so conscious of how I am now, and what I am living for, what's my purpose (2017: 3)

4.3 KOBUS VAN DER MERWE, forager and chef



Photo 4.2 Kobus van der Merwe describes the indigenous edibles he has harvested (Photo by Megan Lindow)

My first interview with van der Merwe, held in August 2016, takes place sitting round a rough wooden table in his about-to-be opened new restaurant, Wolfgat, overlooking the Paternoster beach, presenting at once a glorious scenic backdrop and planting us in the midst of one of the few remaining working fishing villages along the West Coast. It is exactly the scene one might expect for a journalist's interview with a chef. We are joined around the table with our respective partners and glasses of crisp chenin blanc, while my two year-old son plays at re-arranging the sturdy furniture.

The restaurant is named for the Wolfgat Cave which is partially situated underneath the property -- an underground labyrinth of 'immense archaeological and geological significance' where sheep bones, ostrich shells, marine shells, ceramics, beads and stone artefacts dating from the past 2,000 years have been found (Wolfgat 2017). The restaurant, like the cave, opens a unique window to the past, present and future of this particular place.

By way of an introduction to the unique seasonal flavours of the local indigenous flora that are essential to his cooking, van der Merwe has laid out several small bowls containing fresh inflourescences of asparagus-like veldkool (*trachyandra cilliata*); fresh sprigs of a scrubby plant known as dune celery (*dasispermum suffruticosum*) that grows along the southern African coastline; as well as toasted dune celery seeds. For a person native to this coastline, the sight of these plants growing prolifically on sand dunes, along municipal sidewalks, along train tracks, would most likely be familiar. Yet still most people probably do not think of these plants as vegetables and herbs to be eaten (Rusch 2016; van der Merwe 2016).



Photo 4.3 Seasonal indigenous edibles such as veldkool are staples in van der Merwe's kitchen (Photo by Megan Lindow)

When van der Merwe arrived in Paternoster in 2010, his plan was to spend a year helping his parents, who had bought the cafe Oep ve Koep for their retirement, to establish a small garden bistro in the historic building that had once been a shark-liver oil factory (van der Merwe 2014). For him, this move offered an escape from an unfulfilling desk job as an online food editor, and a chance to apply his rusty culinary training in a new unexplored context. Van der Merwe explains:

I went to culinary school. I didn't finish, because they didn't present THIS as an option. And then for some reason everyone always defaults to fish and chips in these West Coast places... so what I wanted to present at the eatery was something that's truly local and representing the landscape. So that was the starting point, and I got completely sucked in. The moment you start noticing what's growing around here, and what's edible, it's amazing (1, 2).

On this particular day, van der Merwe is brimming with excitement because he has discovered, for the first time, the *asparagus capensis* in full flower, a wild indigenous species related to cultivated asparagus, growing on the farm property which he rents nearby. As he continues to explain, this accidental discovery of the *asparagus capensis* shoots has been all the more exciting, because the species is growing on disturbed land where wheat used to be farmed, and where a road and water pipelines running to an adjacent property for oyster farming have created further disturbances. Here, *asparagus capensis* is demonstrating the hardy resilience of a good pioneer establishing its foothold in harsh, inhospitable surroundings (Gunderson & Holling 2002). 'It's got the asparagus flavour, intensified like a hundred times, but in a bitter way,' he describes (van der Merwe 2016: 3).

Working as a chef, creating food that reflects the deep ecology of place and the intricate, temporal rhythms of season, is a process of continuous discovery (van der Merwe 2016: 4). As van der Merwe describes, the excitement of that continuous discovery is held and shared across a small network of foragers, botanists, researchers and indigenous food enthusiasts, living in Cape Town as well as up the West Coast. These are people who initially helped van der Merwe to develop his local knowledge of the relationships of food, ecology, landscape and plants -- and it is to this small, close network that he has turned today in order to share the pictures and the excitement of this latest discovery of the *asparagus capensis*. 'I've been whatsapping all day with Loubie and (Expert B)¹⁷,' he says (van der Merwe 2016: 3, 9):

¹⁷ Name has been removed as the person was not part of this study.

I've been looking six years, and I've always been looking at the wrong time of year, looking too late... So it's just funny, you walk over these things every day and just don't notice them... One of the other coolest discoveries I've made was of this weedy mesembryanthemum species... it's a creeping vyggie, a succulent. It's like an aha moment. There is food everywhere. It literally grows like a weedy ground cover. You could literally fall over with your mouth open and start chomping. It was a landscape of food (18).

Like Rusch (2016), whose story follows, van der Merwe recalls absorbing the ideas of living off the land and seeing wild food as part of the landscape from childhood. These ideas were particularly formed during childhood visits to his grandparents' cattle farm in the Northern Cape Province (van der Merwe 2016):

I did grow up with a bit of that in my family, being interested in things that grow. On my grandfather's farm... he had the most amazing knowledge of indigenous grasses in the Northern Cape. Even though he was a cattle farmer, he was very passionate about the indigenous things that grew on the farm... He had beautiful files he kept, clippings (of the grasses), in his handwriting the botanical name. I think those things lay a foundation in a way (van der Merwe 2016: 5).

In Paternoster, he says, he began to discover knowledge of local edible plants, through books, such as Louis Leipoldt's classic *Cape Cookery* (1976) and through developing relationships with local people, as well as with experts such as 'foodie botanist' (Expert A), who visited his restaurant and shared his passion and knowledge of indigenous wild edibles, planting the seed of an ongoing friendship and collaboration that continues to this day (van der Merwe 2016: 7):

He would actually show me things that weren't really recorded as known wild edibles, but that he himself had been nibbling on. One was dune celery. It's become one of our main sort of indigenous flavour components... we started

experimenting with using it in different ways and then toasting the seeds as a spice... it's almost coffee-like, a little bit bitter, a little bit sweet... it's one of the most precious commodities in my kitchen. Luckily this is one of the things that grows weedy in certain areas. On the farm where I stay, it's not actively being farmed, but they laid a pipe pumping seawater into dams where they grow the oysters. All along that pipe is dune celery. They like the disturbance somehow (van der Merwe 2016: 9, 10).

He continued to learn, inspired both by a sense of fascination with and connection to nature, and at the same by a wish to resist what he refers to as the 'commodification of place' -- encapsulated in the image of quaint seaside restaurants serving fish and chips in postcard perfect settings, concealing the harsh realities, and stories, of collapsing fish stocks, gigantic trawlers halfway around the world, struggling local fishermen, and resource injustice that perpetuates in persistent cycles of entrenched poverty over generations (van der Merwe 2016: 15):

'I think I really disliked the misrepresentation of a place when people claim that the calamari and chips you've just been served have been plucked straight from the ocean. Nothing could be further from the truth, it's Patagonian... (I wanted to create) something that truly represents the area and where we are now... I don't think we have something like a South African cuisine. But I think I kind of like the idea of trying to figure out if there's a way of redefining that, or slowly discovering that. It will never be an absolute thing; it's a living, organic thing' (van der Merwe 2016: 15, 16).

The next morning, I join van der Merwe on an exploration of the nearby Cape Columbine Nature Reserve, a local municipal nature reserve on the coastline four kilometres south of Paternoster, where he visits almost daily (van der Merwe 2016). He has already been out to the beach to harvest kelp fronds, which he has put out to dry on plates in the restaurant kitchen. In the car, he begins to reflect on the dramatic seasonal changes that he witnesses from day to day:

There's always something happening with the plant life. Every single month of the year there's something flowering. Even in summer when it's dry and a lot of things go dormant, one of the mesembryantheums will push out these white flowers... And sometimes there are almost these waves of colour. At the moment it's spring, middle to late winter, and there are all sorts of colours and an abundance of everything flowering. But then you get a yellow time towards the end of the year in summer, when the asteracia are flowering, and then in March and April all of a sudden all of these beautiful red things (van der Merwe 2016: 20).

For van der Merwe, these intricate seasonal dramas that unfold through the turning of the seasons, the arrival of the rains, the dances of flowering plants attracting insects and birds, and the explosions of colour all find their way onto the plate. He says: 'I like the creativity of just interpreting the landscape: it appeals to my artistic side. I grew up in a family that loves food and cooking, and in my family the men are always in the kitchen (40).'

But this deep immersion in and attention to the landscape has also raised for van der Merwe a painful awareness of its fragility:

It's one of the last spots of slightly pristine Saldhana strandveld fynbos that remains. People often seem to think that the West Coast is still fairly untouched, but if you look at Google Earth of Cape Town and up the West Coast, it's remarkable to see how little we have left of pristine untouched fynbos. Everything's been developed and ploughed. From an aerial point of view you can just see straight lines. It's quite easy to see the rough patches that are still intact, and they are tiny tiny dots, which is quite scary and sad to me (van der Merwe 2016: 21).

As we step out of the car to visit one of van der Merwe's regular spots, at an intersection point between granite and limestone soils, where he says there is always something interesting or surprising -- whether it's tiny flowering orchids emerging from cracks in the rocks; bright, variegated splashes of lichen on rock; or a strange new fragrance exploding at a particular time of day, it does

not feel like we are in a tiny, vulnerable last fragment of an ecology (van der Merwe 2016: 21, 22, 25). The landscape feels immersive and expansive. Waves crash in the distance, and a light mist hangs in the air, with mingled smells of salty sea and delicately honeyed fynbos and flowers. The honey scent comes from a little yellow flower, the *senecio aloides*. Says van der Merwe:

*I just love the texture of this landscape in winter. It's crazy, I mean things that really looked like graveyards of dead twigs in summer have all of a sudden sprouted lush soft green foliage. It's really cool, (you find) tiny little gardens in rock crevices. There's barely soil sometimes in those little cracks, but there will be a little *cresula* growing in there... This is quite a harsh environment, with salty air, only a little bit of rainwater, harsh very dry hot summers. It's a very specialist group of plants that can thrive here, I find that very inspiring (22).*

People who don't know the West Coast will often just drive at 30km per hour and think hmm nothing special and sort of whiz through the landscape. But the thing is, with this vegetation you have to stop and get out and notice detail, and you'll be blown away. You have to really zoom in and then you see magical things happen (van der Merwe 2016: 23).

Taking this walk with van der Merwe provides a glimpse of how these highly seasonal variations in the landscape are then interpreted onto the plate:

Visually, obviously I find it extremely inspiring whether it's green and colourful like at the moment, or whether it's harsh and dead and twiggy in summer -- one could almost sometimes literally interpret that into a plating or something. And then next it's thinking about the edible plants and their textures and their flavours. Often the succulents have a sort of oceanic brininess built in; they're kind of self-seasoned, and that's always a nice thing to think about, because we're at a coastal location, I find that pairs with seafood¹⁸ extremely well in

¹⁸ van der Merwe says he sources fish from local sustainable sources

and of itself. It's layers of inspiration for me, literal, figurative, conceptual. There's so much to take from it, for me. It's a muse that never tires, I can always draw inspiration from it (van der Merwe 2016: 24).

I ask van der Merwe to reflect on what he thinks people could learn from this landscape. He responds:

To me, one of the starkest contrasts is coming into Paternoster, driving through wheat fields. People often react to it at the moment being completely green, a beautiful landscape. But in actual fact that's quite a hectic destructive agricultural thing -- and before, that used to be an edible carpet of biodiverse indigenous endemic water-wise plants. And in summer, even though the veld can be dry and quite twiggy, there's still stuff growing and covering the soil -- whereas those wheat fields are just one big cloud of dust storms. It's heart-breaking to see that we go to these huge scaled operations to provide food, when we actually took out the food that was there inherently, that we didn't have to water or manage or anything... Maybe my opinion is quite romantic, but it's quite hectic if you think of it that way. If people could see what it actually should have looked like, it should be quite shocking to compare the two (van der Merwe 2016: 25).

As we clamber over rocks, such musings are frequently interrupted as van der Merwe stops to point out something interesting: flowering pelargoniums with subtle flavours and textures, beautiful silky leaves. An orchid that releases a powerful perfume at dusk to attract a certain moth. An edible tuber that produces a large, black and white orchid-like flower which blooms only for 24 hours, releasing a pungent scent which van der Merwe compares to rotting meat (22, 24). Even a red geranium, of which van der Merwe remarks:

There's a slight rosewater-y undertone. Not many people know this is actually the red cultivated geraniums that people have in pots, that you see in windowsills in Greece. But this is its natural habitat (van der Merwe 2016: 29).

Other plants he points out are remarkable not because of how far and wide they have travelled, assimilated and reinvented themselves as part of a faraway local aesthetic, but for the hyper local ranges to which they are limited. He points to a rock crevice:

That is lampranthus vredenbergensis, a little succulent that only occurs here. If you look at the map of distribution it's like a little dot, in this reserve... So that's quite scary as well, thinking of habitat loss. We can literally see things becoming extinct due to our negligence (van der Merwe 2016: 37).

I ask van der Merwe how many edible plant species altogether he is aware of, and he replies:

I would think probably close to a hundred... Also do you refer to edibility as some sort of carbohydrate, or is it just sort of an edible herb that you can use to flavour foods... (28)

To that end, he picks up on this thread again a little later:

That's one of the reasons I started doing a type of vermouth as part of my tasting menu. I wanted to try and capture not necessarily the edible ones, but the fragrant plants of the area, so I started making these botanical teas, steeping them in alcohol, trying to capture them at different stages: leaves, roots, flowers, and then basing bitters around that and then using that as a drink that we serve as part of a tasting menu. That is quite cool because it is so seasonal. In summer I have at most about eight botanicals, and in winter it triples (31).

As reflected in our walk, van der Merwe appears to be far more focused on the processes and the excitement of discovery, and on creating and interpreting new ways of sharing the dynamic diversity and specificity of this landscape through food (32, 34) -- than on providing answers to how we actually change the negative patterns in our relationships with food and landscape. Nevertheless, I ask him for his opinion on what kinds of changes

he would like to see happen and how he thinks these could be brought about -
 - which returns us to the subject of cultivating indigenous edibles. He responds:

I think the first step would be to try and influence the minds of free-thinking farmers, a new generation who isn't completely stuck in old ways... destructively ploughing and losing top soil in the summer, and all these weird practices which I find completely un-futuristic. Getting people to start experimenting with the idea of a permaculture or a biodiverse indigenous food landscape (25).

When (Expert A) and I walk around on the farm where I stay we see fallow land that's been left alone for quite a while, it's amazing to see how certain things are coming back. It will take years and years to restore, but often the first pioneering plants that come back are the edible ones... I think it's just literally thinking about the landscape differently, and again coming back to what Zayaan probably mentioned, diversifying your diet, expanding it... We have such diverse abundance we can actually live off of (van der Merwe 2016: 26).

By keeping it small, it's sustainable in many ways. I feel I have still got so much to learn and explore so I can't see myself tiring of it very soon'.

4.4 LOUBIE RUSCH, indigenous wild food innovator



Photo 4.4 Loubie Rusch learned about foraging at Kommetjie beach and revisits regularly (photo by Megan Lindow)

Walking amongst the tangled tendrils of veldkool, dune spinach, soutslaai and other edible plants indigenous to the Western Cape, Loubie Rusch displays a sort of tender pride and enthusiasm for all the different plant species she is cultivating here, on a sandy patch of a community farm in Khayelitsha. My first interview with Rusch takes place in late June, 2016.

It is no accident that she has chosen to experiment with farming edible indigenous plants here at the Moya we Khaya farm, a large piece of land in the township of Khayelitsha where perhaps a dozen primarily Xhosa-speaking farmers linked to the urban farming non-governmental organisation and social enterprise Abalimi Bezekhaya have plots, growing spinach, carrots, spring onions and other more conventionally known and farmed vegetables, helping to sustain livelihoods and household access to fresh vegetables in a densely populated community affected by HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and poverty (Lindow 2013). This place, in short, offers ‘a marvellous opportunity to shift thinking’ about what food is and how it can be grown (Rusch 2016: 61).

Rusch explains:

If you look across this fence, we're in the middle of sandy Khayelitsha, and yet there is food growing right there that people actually walk by and have no idea that it's actually wild food, and if you knew about it, it would be accessible to you (Rusch 2016: 20).

The plants growing here are what Rusch refers to as the 'edible carpet plants': hardy, dense low-growing perennials that are endemic to the area and proliferate in poor sandy local soils (Rusch 2016: 20). The Western Cape, home of the smallest yet most biodiverse (and intensely threatened¹⁹) Cape Floral plant kingdom, boasts perhaps hundreds of edible plants. Unlike so many other parts of the world, however, farming never developed as a local indigenous way of life, but was introduced by European settlers to the Cape, displacing indigenous hunter-gatherers on the land with cultivated food plants from around the world adapted to the dry summers and rainy winters in the Mediterranean (Rusch 2016: 7). As a result, few if any of the Cape's wild indigenous foods have been farmed -- which makes Rusch something of a pioneer -- within the context of a broader indigenous food movement, both local and global (Gill 2015; Khan 2016; Rusch 2016: 7).

Rusch describes herself as an indigenous wild food innovator, working to bring indigenous foods into the local economy of the Western Cape (Rusch 2016, 2017). As she describes over two interviews, held in June 2016 and in March 2017, this work has developed as a natural progression over a 30-year period, in which she began to see food and landscape differently herself, and at the same time began to experiment with new models of working with food and landscape, while forging a role for herself through promoting the cultivation and appreciation of the Western Cape's indigenous wild foods, in a variety of interventions involving chefs, farmers, researchers, entrepreneurs

¹⁹ Link to recent UCT study on fynbos ecology and climate change
<http://www.pnas.org/content/114/18/4697.abstract>

and other food enthusiasts, for example through the Slow Food Movement (Rusch 2016). She says:

If I had tried to go on this journey ten years ago, really I wouldn't have found any kind of purchase, but with awareness of the climate and a drier world, and with people being interested in foraging and wild food, it makes all the work I'm doing find fertile ground. People are interested. It's the right moment for it to kind of take off (Rusch 2016: 9, 10).

Rusch traces the roots of her enthusiasm for indigenous wild foods to a childhood of long days of outdoor exploration, snacking along the way on fruit plucked from trees and other edible things (Rusch 2016: 1,3). From her archeologist stepfather, she had learned early on to see food as a natural part of the landscape (Rusch 2016: 2). However, as she now relates, it was reading the books *One Straw Revolution* and *The Road Back to Nature* by twentieth-century Japanese farmer and philosopher Masanobu Fukuoka, in her twenties, that truly started to shift her thinking (Rusch 2016: 18):

He described how you could actually look at how healthy or how whole a landscape was by what was growing there, and it made me actually see monoculture as a desert. I could no longer look at the world around me with the same eyes anymore -- just him describing how he was trying to farm naturally with a mixture of things that might actually occur naturally there. That was very instrumental in me starting to look at my environment with very different eyes (Rusch 2016: 18).

Over most of her career Rusch worked as a landscape designer, but eventually began to find small spaces opening up to explore indigenous food through conducting activities such as foraging workshops (19). With the launch of a food market in 2013 by the Oranjezicht City Farm²⁰ market, a community urban farm in Cape Town that has helped to mobilise popular support for local alternative food networks, Rusch found a space where she

²⁰ Also a Seeds of the Good Anthropocene project

could launch a food business based on indigenous food (11). She quickly realised, however, that running a business based on foraging on any kind of scale, in a densely populated urban area where indigenous biodiversity is already under severe threat, would not be sustainable, economically or ecologically. This led her to begin exploring cultivation (Rusch 2016: 12, 13, 15).

What she describes as a turning point came in 2015, when she attended the conference of the Programme for Ecosystem Change and Society (PECS), held in Stellenbosch, and connected with academics at the Sustainability Institute and in social-ecological resilience, who affirmed her ideas and offered modest financial support to establish the pilot indigenous wild food cultivation project (Rusch 2016: 54). The Moya farmers agreed to allow her to rent a plot of land at Moya we Khaya (Rusch 2016). The pilot garden was planted by volunteers in April 2016 (Rusch 2016).

Rusch describes her experiments on her plot at Moya we Khaya as ‘lazy farming’:

Most of the 99 percent of what I’ve got planted here are perennials, so you plant them once and they’re in. It’s a pretty lazy way of growing stuff, and it’s kind of intentionally that I’ve done that so the local farmers growing stuff here can see a different way of growing food compared to how they’re growing food... It doesn’t necessarily need to displace what they do, but it could very happily blend with it (Rusch 2016: 21, 22, 23).

Rusch describes herself as ‘an instinctive cook’, and describes her process of exploration, experimentation, observation and feedback, discovering edible indigenous plants and flavours and experimenting with how to prepare with them (Rusch 2016: 34): I ask her what she enjoys most in the process, and she responds:

I love going into nature and finding new things to try, or talking to other people and hearing something that they’ve tried... One of those was the Slangbessie,

which is related to the goji berry, and can be found growing up the West Coast. Years ago, somebody would have said to me, have you tried such and such... And there these bushes with these gorgeous bright orange berries were, and then you know spending an hour and a half to collect enough to make 12 little jars of jam, and then discovering actually they could be used in a savoury way as well, a bit like a tomato, because it's from the tomato family... the process of discovery just makes you realise that there is so much out there that is untapped (Rusch 2016: 35).

Rusch then reflects on how landscape triggers memory through a story of her encounters with a woman in her eighties living near the West Coast town of Churchhaven:

She knew I liked food and she likes food, so she would be making something with limpets and give me some to taste... or she would harvest veldkool and let me taste her version of veldkool bredie... So I said, can I come and have a long chat to you about wild foods... To start with I just sat with her in her cottage and we chatted a bit... And I said come on let's go walking, and as soon as we were walking virtually every bush we passed, suddenly her memories were being triggered by actually walking in that landscape again... It's as if the memory came back into the front and could spill out of her mouth as she told me about eating tortoise and the best thing was when her mum used to make tortoise. So that kind of being in the landscape is such an important part of actually triggering memory (Rusch 2016: 39, 40).

I remark that this passage makes me think of the Australian Aboriginal tradition of Songlines, which prompts her to reflect on the story she has just told:

What was also amazing was I was able to inform her about all sorts of things she didn't know about in the landscape. So there's really an opportunity to build two-way relationships where traditional knowledge and innovating can cross over and grow new approaches to things (Rusch 2016: 41).

As Rusch describes, there is a lot practical groundwork that needs to be done, ranging from research into the propagation and cultivation of the plants; investigating the commercial potential of different crops; testing of plants' nutritional content: 'It needs to be spanning across from the growing to the cooking to the research. They all need to knit in with each other and not be happening in isolation from one another' (Rusch 2016: 42). Rusch continues:

I've realised that the role that needs to be played by somebody, and I've kind of tasked myself with playing that role... In order to eventually be able to go to the supermarket and buy a punnet of veldkool and bags of dune spinach leaves, so that actually it becomes a viable commercial food growing industry that is completely locally sustainable (46, 47).

To this end, Rusch describes how she has been branching out in a number of different directions: entering a grassroots participatory research collaboration between scientists and community members in the Cederberg Mountains²¹; consulting to hotels; working with chefs; and establishing more community indigenous wild food gardens, replicating the approach she has taken at Moya we Khaya²². She has other ideas on the boil that are more complicated and have a longer horizon, such as planting edible pioneer species in firebreaks and on degraded public and privately owned conservation land -- a practice that is not currently recognised in mainstream conservation thinking and policy, and which would require new legal frameworks and new thinking to be adopted (Rusch 2016: 48). Rusch gives the example of introducing practices of sustainably harvesting wild *sersia* berries in areas of the Cape Flats where the bushes dominate the landscape, as part of managing the land:

It will take a long time to work its way into mainstream thinking to be able to act on it, but they're all things I'm throwing out there, just to start

²¹ Add note: The Cederberg is a mountain range north of Cape Town (see Map 4.2). The project is funded by NRF.

²² Add note: Funding from the Sustainability Institute was provided for the Moya we Khaya pilot garden for a 10-month duration, ending December 2016. ETHZ Zurich sponsored a new indigenous wild food garden at Lyndoché Ecovillage in 2017.

conversations with people so eventually someone can research: okay, how many sersia berries can one harvest so that the animals will get enough, so that they'll be able to propagate themselves, and so on (Rusch 2016: 50).

Rusch then begins to reflect on what being a wild food innovator means to her:

My work previously was about designing gardens for wealthy people, and I was just so utterly fed up with how unreal that is in terms of real issues of this planet. I was glad to have left that behind me and really get my fingers stuck in the soil and my headspace working with issues I consider to be fundamentally critical (Rusch 2016: 55)... There's such an opportunity to shape thinking in a way, because these foods have never been farmed (51)...

Rusch describes her approach to her work as being collaborative and instinctive:

'For a long time I thought I needed a mentor, someone who can guide me and help me to figure out how to go about achieving some of these things... But it's a new thing and so you just have to, you know, follow your nose and that's what I'm doing. In a way, I'm trained in being instinctive, because I cook like that, and I've trained myself to look broadly and be aware of what's going on around me, and listen to other people around me who talk similarly. That's the most important skill of all is to just be very instinctive about it (Rusch 2016: 57, 58).

I ask Rusch if (and how) she thinks her own thinking has shifted through her collaborations and her interactions with others. She responds:

I'm insatiable by nature... My growth has come from being exposed to other people's thinking, seeing what other people are doing, and other people challenging me, being prepared to tell other people about what I'm doing and hearing what they have to say -- what they think about it or what their criticism is. It is vital to making this thing realistic and attainable (Rusch 2016: 62).

Like van der Merwe, she describes 'foodie' botanist (Expert A) as someone who has influenced her thinking:

When I first starting on this thing, the idea of using indigenous knowledge -- wait, backpedal on that, because do I want to become another businessperson who's making money off other people's indigenous knowledge... So the way in which I think has been influenced by a couple of people. The fact that I've spent a lot of time with someone who's been working with the Surplus Peoples Project, and understanding better what is going on in this country, how people make livelihoods or how people are deprived of livelihoods... Because this is such a [formative] time for this field to grow, one can have some influence on the direction things take. It's a big responsibility, so I try to do it as best as I can... that it actually becomes something that's there for the greater good (Rusch 2016: 63).

When I meet Rusch for a second interview, in March 2017, I pick her up from her home in order to visit the coastline at Kommetjie, one of the places where she learned about foraging. Also present is Olive Zgambo, who is interviewing Rusch for her own master's research on food system transformation. Over coffee, sitting at her round wooden kitchen table, I re-familiarise her with my research, and she comments by identifying two layers of narrative change in her own experience: the first is to deliberately embrace things with the potential to shift your own thinking, as she did by reading *One Straw Revolution* in her twenties (Rusch 2017: 18). The other, she says, involves moments of realising connection to a broader narrative which strengthens your own, such as when she attended the PECS conference and suddenly connected with a larger group of academics whose thinking about complex social-ecological systems reflected her own, even if she would not have previously used that exact terminology (Rusch 2017: 54). However Rusch emphasises a need of finding ways to shift others' thinking, beyond just 'preaching to the converted' (Rusch 2017). She asks: 'How do you actually challenge the broken system in a sexy way?' (Rusch 2017).

After we reach Kommetjie, we pull over at a municipal parking strip near the beach, where Rusch has spotted hardy carpets of dune spinach which she wants to harvest both for our lunch and to show a prospective indigenous food collaborator in the food business (Rusch 2017). As she snips off pieces of dune spinach with secateurs, she reflects:

Dune spinach is very pervasive. It's a real pioneer... This is part of my deep interest in wild foods: you find things that grow themselves and are less resource-intensive to grow, so that farming starts to become less destructive. I want to find different solutions to use the land, to grow crops that are endemic to places, and don't displace the endemic biodiversity, using fallow lands, conservation areas, find ways to make farming less destructive to local areas... When people learn about foraging you see the lightbulbs go on. It's the first step in getting people discovering and being interested in what grows in the wild... I want to take the next step, getting to know what can feed us on a larger scale: climate resilient crops that can be cultivated widely (Rusch 2017: 66).



Photo 4.5 Rusch examines dune celery on Kommetjie beach, observing its hardiness in late summer drought conditions (photo by Megan Lindow)

Rusch continues to explain some of her observations about how dune spinach seeds and flowers, and the success she has had with rooting cuttings. Down on the beach, we find more patches of dune celery (whose seeds are a popular ingredient in van der Merwe's kitchen). As we return to the car, Rusch again muses:

They talk about songlines. I will always go to this particular spot every year. For me looking at this landscape, I'm actually invested in a relationship in how it can even support me. I love that. I'm developing such a relationship with the landscape, I think it gives me a slight insight into the way indigenous people would feel a sense of responsibility to the landscape. If your favourite patch of dune spinach is here and then one day it's gone, that sense of responsibility is a very deep connection. It's responsibility and connection to each other and to the land. Your average person has no real sense even of the consequences of your behaviour. A huge part of what I'm doing is trying to shift people's perspective (Rusch 2017: 67).

Later on, I ask Rusch to tell me the story of the Tannin Tannies -- an informal collaboration she has been involved with among three women (one of whom is Khan), aiming to explore and experiment with some of the roots and bulbs that are indigenous to the landscape. Rusch is quick to note that such an exploration, which necessitates removing entire plant organisms from the ground instead of merely harvesting their leaves, is not currently sustainable on any kind of scale, but is being conducted, with permits, for research. Rusch explains:

About five years ago I made a lunch where I roasted vegetables which included watsonia corms that were -- it was still June and they were bright orange, which should have been (a warning) -- now I know that anything you pick up that is bright orange is going to be full of tannin, which is going to make it bitter as hell...

And we had a whole thing where we peeled them together and took photographs and roasted them. They were absolutely inedible. They were so bitter, it was dreadful... Part of our joint crossover mission at some point was to find out if we could make these things palatable, and one of the things we discovered when we really worked on it was that if we harvested them at a different time of year, then the corms were completely white, so they hadn't accumulated their tannin yet. And then we've been experimenting with a whole variety of different ways of leaching them in water, brine, fermentation, ash, sliced, ground, whole... even with no processing when they are white they are already less bitter...

She continues to describe new discoveries being made by researchers about these plants, such as the possibility of growing new corms from some plant types after replanting parts of them in soil. Such discoveries point to ways in which some tubers may possibly, in time, be cultivated sustainably:

'Suddenly you have a potential of something possibly beginning to be commercial, from being a no-go zone to discovering certain kinds of growth habits that plants have developed for themselves. So the other one you'll get is a long thin thread of a root with little corms attached along the way... and that is a kind of a survival mechanism so that if a porcupine or a baboon digs them up, that thread is so thin that a whole lot of little corms remain behind in the ground and make new plants' (Rusch 2017: 68).

To see which (plants) could reproduce themselves fast enough to become a crop is really interesting. There's still a mountain of work to do, an absolute mountain, so I'm starting with the easiest ones that don't need much processing and are pretty delicious virtually straight off the bush, and are pretty easy to grow... Then as time goes on you can start layering it and as it becomes more and more critical to explore these things that grow in local sand... you just add more and more plants that one could explore to grow commercially on these lands where the wheat crops are failing (Rusch 2017: 69).

With the mention of failing wheat crops, I think of the current drought that is gripping the Western Cape, remembering a visit to a farm several years ago where the farmer acknowledged that he did not think he would still be able to grow wheat there in ten years' time due to climate change. I mention this to Rusch, and she responds by telling another small story of visiting a sacred site on a hilltop, that would have been inhabited tens of thousands of years ago, with van der Merwe and another:

We walked up that hill past failed wheat crops, and pioneer edible wild foods were growing like weeds in that huge dry field, if you only would recognise that those are foods. It was a fabulous thing to see: there was spelmanthus and soutslai and a couple of other things, in this failed wheat land (Rusch 2017: 70).

When I had visited Rusch the first time, she spoke of a proposal she had submitted along with academics at the University of Cape Town to explore the co-creation of livelihoods from indigenous foods in the Clanwilliam area of the Cederberg Mountains, involving a team of an archeologist, an expert in benefit-sharing and a conservationist, in addition to Rusch. The proposal, Co-Creating Wild Food Livelihoods in the Cederberg, has since been funded for three years by the South African National Research Fund. Rusch had described her interest in the project during our first interview. The project having started in the past couple of months, she describes its aim:

Exploring together to find what is going to be an appropriate way to bring livelihoods back to people whose heritage these foods would be, but now they've become disconnected for various reasons... The premise is, we are here now. What can we do with what people still remember? ... And actually kind of in some way make good some of the harm that's been done for some of the people (71).

Rusch acknowledges that with indigenous food she has chosen to work in a field that is extremely sensitive. She elaborates:

A serious reality for many people in this country is that they have been dispossessed at multiple levels... I'm delving into their heritage and trying to bring their heritage into the economy, and I've got to be incredibly respectful about how I work with that. At the moment it's been difficult for me to build relationships. The urban farmers in Khayelitsha are migrant people, the Western Cape is not their land. But I mean, I'm going to work with everybody because they come from a farming tradition, and if you're going to be farming some of these things, you need to be working with farmers who know farming (72).

I'm also an impostor, and yet I'm putting my skills in the service of this thing... I try as best as I can to be ethical. It's difficult terrain, really difficult terrain... (Rusch 2017: 72).

I ask Rusch what sustains her and what motivates her in her work. The story she tells as an answer to this question surprises me. She begins by saying, 'I could answer this in a completely un-academic way.' I encourage this, and she responds:

At a certain point I became very ill... I just wasn't healing and wasn't getting better, and I just couldn't understand it...

The story she tells, is that a long process of working with many different kinds of healers led her to realise that she was a healer herself. To me, the story brings up a number of tensions to her work, and reflects a sense of facing these tensions through connection to a larger sense of purpose of being a healer: how to innovate, how to support herself, how to work with integrity towards a greater good, in a world driven by money and the dynamics of unequal power. She reflects:

'Every healer type, sangoma type, I came into contact with kept saying to me, you are a healer and you need to be doing healing work. And I kept on refusing it, because for me the route to it at that stage was to see eight clients a day, stick them on my healing table... I just thought no, what's the difference

between that and the kind of consulting work that I'm already doing, so I kept on refusing it and kept on refusing it. And then one day waking up and thinking now I'm doing it, I'm healing the Earth, actually.

That's the role I've got to play is try to fix this mess we've made, not on an individual human level, but the problem for me is just way bigger than that. That's what I'm trying to do. It involves using my skills and energy... What I represent is recognised by other healing people... There's a kind of recognition, which I think is to do with the fact that it's not yours, it's your service. You recognise when somebody else is working that way. I don't claim any of this, I'm a catalyst. So I'll catalyse a chef to try. I'll catalyse an academic to try, and that puts me in the middle of a triangle of things that might be in opposition, but by throwing myself into the middle of that situation which may just be conflict, a way can be found to transform it into something else.

As long as I keep remembering that it's not mine, my way of working can have integrity... For anybody who's a healer it's an issue to confront, and I confront it daily. I do need to live. I do want to end up not relying on my children one day... I also need to be careful, because when a thing becomes monetised, there's a real risk of it turning into something else... As soon as dune spinach has a dollar sign in front of it, your relationship with it has changed... I think that's part of our human condition, and I think that's where we're so astray in this world: we've forgotten how to measure our interventions in a way that's bigger than ourselves, and that has a sense of being a custodian of something which isn't yours, but which relies on you... It's the kind of real experiences you have that completely roots the reason to carry on doing it so firmly in yourself that nothing can shift it. When I revert to fear mode, because I don't know how I'm going to pay for my car service, I can actually fall back on that strong place to just keep going (Rusch 2017: 73).

4.5 ZAYAAN KHAN, seed activist, indigenous food revivalist, Coordinator of the Slow Food Youth Network for Southern Africa



Photo 4.6 Zayaan Khan collects pollen for experiments with food processing (photo by Megan Lindow)

My encounter with Zayaan Khan, a 32-year-old indigenous food activist who coordinates the Slow Food Youth Network for Southern Africa, begins on Signal Hill, a place of panoramic views of Cape Town's urban and natural landscapes, where one sees Table Mountain, the Atlantic seaboard and ocean, and where one towers over the jumbled forms of colonial-era buildings and modern high rises of Cape Town's city centre. Unlike several of the other Seeds explored in this body of work (e.g. Tyisa Nabanye, Vegkop Farm), and the people associated with them, Khan's work and life as an activist is not rooted in any one particular place, but rather in a larger conceptual landscape of food in its many forms of relationship.

For that reason, I asked Khan to choose a place that is meaningful to her and her work, for our interview. She chose Signal Hill, so naturally the first question I ask her is why. She responds:

What I love about Signal Hill is the proximity to biodiversity. I can see the sea, so it gives me this idea of awareness into the landscape, which is fundamentally something we've lost living in the city. But also the fact that there are so many forageable things here, and it's an edible landscape. That is one of the fundamental things that is important for the (Slow Food Youth) Network: we're trying to look at food beyond dependency, look at food in terms of sustenance, but also in terms of curiosity, art, colour -- all the different ways that food is experienced (Khan 2016: 1, 2).

As we talk, we also pluck the edible brown flowers of an indigenous brown sage plant, *salvia africana-lutea*, as well as the bright yellow sorrel flowers that grow ubiquitously in the rainy Cape Town winter. These ones are global edible weeds -- I used to eat them as a child growing up in California. It is a bright, crisp, vivid winter day. The sun is out after days of rain, and the landscape is saturated with colour -- the plants almost seem to be revelling in the sudden abundance of water after a long drought. The sweet, honeyed tastes of the wild sage are supple, subtle, in contrast to the bright, sour taste of the sorrel grass, vivid as the day itself. The richness of Cape Town's human cultural landscape is also present here -- the sounds of choral singing drifts to us from beneath a nearby cluster of blue gum trees, from what appears to be a religious gathering in this spot.

Our conversation unfolds and meanders with this rich backdrop -- and is punctuated by the boisterous interruptions of my two-year old son.

Here I must acknowledge that my own previous interactions with Khan helped me to transform my own understanding of food systems. We met several years ago, as I was finishing up a large consulting project for a pan-African agricultural research organisation, and feeling very disillusioned. Although I was not yet well versed in the language of complexity or agro-ecology, I had become deeply uncomfortable with the intensive focus of the organisations I was working with on technological and market-driven approaches as a sort of panacea for smallholder farmers in Africa. This approach seemed to me to marginalise the knowledge, cultures and values of smallholder farmers who

were the intended beneficiaries of policy interventions. After being whisked around different farming communities in Rwanda, Sierra Leone and elsewhere, and having perfunctory conversations with small scale farmers about the benefits of productive new crop varieties they were accessing, I felt I was very far from getting a nuanced picture of how people actually felt about these technologies, or the technologies meant for their lives.

As I struggled to complete my assignment on the one hand, and to educate and interrogate my own stance on issues of biotechnology, food sovereignty, seed systems, land grabbing and commercial monoculture farming on the other, the walls of my office became densely covered in thickets of flipchart paper containing messy mindmaps. Walking past my office one day, Khan happened to catch a glimpse of these messy scrawls, and knocked on my door. So began several conversations over coffee which were instrumental in shifting my own thinking from an uneasy acceptance of, essentially, the ‘feed the world narrative’ (IPES-Food 2016) to a view far more embracing of the richness and biological and cultural diversity of farming and food.



Photo 4.7 Khan explores ‘food beyond dependency’ and exchanges skills in different food processing methods such as fermentation as a means of circumventing dominant industrial agrifood systems (photo by Megan Lindow)

Khan’s adventures in food over the past 10 years have encompassed the politics of food, seeds and land reform in South Africa, the relational dynamics of ecology, the deep cultural and philosophical roots of food processing techniques such as fermentation, the revival of indigenous food, explorations into entomophagy (the consumption of insects) -- and underlying all of these things, a deep fascination with the potency, poetry, resilience and feminine generative power of Seeds (Khan 2016, 2016b: 114). She has explored the complexity of ‘food beyond dependency’ through a multimedia blog, the Apocalypse Pantry²³, and for the past three years has formed and coordinated the Slow Food Youth Network Southern Africa, as part of a global youth network under the Slow Food Movement. As we discuss in our interview, these adventures have prompted her to see the world through the eyes of an insect, through the potent indigenous mythologies of Seed, and through the fragmented post-apartheid, pre-‘apocalypse’ landscape of District Six, from where members of her own family were evicted under the apartheid Group Areas Act (Khan 2016b).

It is the particular perspective afforded by our present position on Signal Hill that opens up a conversation about time, awareness and landscape. Being in this landscape, floating above the city in the clouds, makes it possible to imagine a time before colonisation. Khan says:

I think about it in terms of abundance, because I imagine it must have been so abundant, all the roaming species, the kudu, all the different species of birds and insects and how abundant the sea once was; and I try not to hold on to too much of the despair that comes from the fact that it’s definitely not like that any more. It’s been these massive genocides of all these different species to get to where we are now (4)...

²³ The name has since been changed to Food Civic.

A little later on, she returns to the thread of lost heritage, and links to the idea of feeling a sense of responsibility to the land:

I've always felt that, because we're in such a biodiverse hotspot... it's amazing how all these things just perpetuate and survive, all the birds, all the animals, but all the people as well, and all the different cultures of people... I really believe that knowledge comes from the land... We know we can take plants that we don't have recipes for, but we know they're edible but bitter, and we can transform them in different ways. That knowledge through dreaming and intuition and hard work and experimentation has become something intrinsic to the land and then knowledge comes from the land (Khan 2016: 8).

For Khan, social activism was the gateway to food. Always curious, she had initially been drawn to journalism, but then decided to study horticulture instead. She knew nothing of indigenous plants, but had inherited a love and appreciation for gardening from her grandmother (13). She learned landscaping and horticulture, and worked at Good Hope Nursery near Scarborough. Then, someone she was dating who worked as a researcher at Surplus People's Project, an NGO focused on land reform, was involved in teaching farmers about micro-organisms to support livestock health. Khan was fascinated, and applied for a job there. Moving next to work as a researcher at SPP, she gained new perspective on the struggles of many South Africans for economic redress, land reform (Khan 2016: 16, 17, 18).

Over the course of two interviews, conducted respectively in July 2016 (Khan 2016) and in November 2016 (Khan 2016b), Khan describes a series of key events, realisations and moments which shaped her thinking and informed her approach to building SFYN. Here I present these stories sequentially, although they were told piecemeal, often in response to particular questions that I asked. The passages below therefore reflect my attempt to organise these stories and narratives into a more chronological order.

Shortly after Khan joined SPP in 2012, she attended a workshop given by Prof. Rachel Wynberg from the University of Cape Town on seeds and intellectual property legislation affecting seed sovereignty both globally and in South Africa. As she recalls, the workshop struck a powerful chord:

We were shocked and appalled that these laws were in existence in the world, but nobody knew about them... This was something we needed to do something about (Khan 2016: 114).

She travelled up the west coast of South Africa in order to find out what people's actual seed practices were (25). The findings were not encouraging:

Hardly anyone was using seed that they'd saved themselves, and if they were it was because they were far removed from supermarkets and highways and roads. It was saving seed out of necessity because they were living in a very rural mountain region or something. Not one person knew about the seed laws, no matter who they were. We found such a stark contrast to what we had hoped to find (114).

Following that trip, Khan fell into a depression. As she reflects now, however, it was at the same time inspiring to observe the ways in which ancient knowledge still persisted in remote areas:

If I go up the west coast, it's white sand, it's white plain... it's really not easy to grow food... How then were people eating and developing into the humans we are now... because when you go into Namaqualand and you see how people have been surviving there for so long, you see that you need to have a particular knowledge in order to do so (Khan 2016: 24).

Working with Surplus Peoples' Project provided a further insight into South African historic injustices, particularly land dispossession. Khan recalls:

I didn't realise how bad the land issue was... It was really about the fact that land was forcibly taken from people, urban land and around the country...

you have these ancestral lines that haven't been, there has been no restitution... Just the fact that you're the wrong colour, you make little money, you're not allowed to be here... and it still happens today. People are oblivious and they're like no it's the old regime, but it's really still happening (Khan 2016: 19).

Another pivotal event which shifted thinking in a more empowering direction, and opened up new ways of seeing, was the Terra Madre Salon del Gusto in 2012, a gathering of farmers and food producers from around the world convened by the Slow Food movement in Turin, Italy every other year (30). Khan recalls:

My mind was blown wide open... That was the first time I saw how much diversity we have in the world... and how much indigenous food people are eating, from seaweeds in Chile to different woods and fruits and leaves and berries to make tea in Belarus... the most diverse flavours and tastes... When I first went to [Terra Madre] in 2012, I was of the understanding that the world is screwed, that there are all these monocultures, the hegemony, the oligarchs and all this stuff... And then I go there and ... there was so much diversity, and not just so much, but SO MUCH, so many breeds and species of animal, in vast really specific agroecological conditions, like the deep freezing highlands of Iceland, to the lowlands of Uganda (82).

She continues:

... The survivorship that happens, the complete diversity and adaptation and resilience that exists. It was so inspiring to see that all of that was just around food... I came home and it hit me, so much into third eye blatantly, that I could see it, and it was enough momentum to keep me driven for four years (Khan 2016b: 83).

Meanwhile, the opportunity of creating an arena and a network for this new thinking came along in 2013, with a new Slow Food Youth Network that was starting up globally, a spin-off of the Slow Food movement. Wanting to

become more grounded in their approach, according to Khan, Slow Food approached the Surplus Peoples' Project in 2012 and Khan was enlisted to coordinate the new youth network in South Africa (Khan 2016: 29). For Khan, it was a powerful opportunity to involve young people in the evolving food story of South Africa, with all its unresolved tensions over land, seed regimes, exploitation and inequality -- alongside all of the empowering possibilities of agro-ecology and indigenous food she had glimpsed at Terra Madre. As Khan recalls:

In Slow Food it was about sharing that information with younger people, but also about giving access to younger people, because at that stage I was entering the end of my twenties, getting towards 30, and I was like wait, I can't still be the youngest person in the room, there are people with full careers at this age. So it was a very important vehicle to establish (Khan 2016: 20).

During both interviews, Khan spoke at length about her thinking that informed the process of developing the Slow Food Youth Network. She described this as a slow, intuitive, bottom-up approach, which has involved continuously walking a tension between purposeful action and emergence (Khan 2016b):

I'm keeping it very voluntary, and not trying to indoctrinate everyone with my ideals. It has to be a collective... I'm really just trying to connect people and have people be inspired by each other, because I think it's that thing we first spoke about, the curiosity. Everyone has that inherent curiosity, and when you start talking about food and dealing with food, then it's infinitely curious (Khan 2016: 27, 28).

Several months later, she reflects:

I was talking about it with Loubie the other day: if I had been more loose with the SFYN and delegated it earlier, it wouldn't have been the same story. It wouldn't have been as inclusive, it wouldn't have been as broad as it is. You know I had to hold it, not for ego ownership, but so it would work by itself with this kinetic force... So my activism has changed quite a bit. It's a lot about self-

care, a lot about seeing that for others, building that community kind of around love, creating a praxis of self care, so it's not just an end result, it's something you have to do all the time (Khan 2016b: 72, 73).

I ask if this links in some way to a broader sense of care for nature and the biosphere. She responds:

I guess it's an inherent thing. I don't think about it, but since you ask it, I know that I'm very much a part of a much bigger system, or systems. I'm constantly aware that if I'm walking down the street... my eye locks on to very specific things ... that are living. So I'll notice a bird that would otherwise be camouflaged, or I'll notice a person through the gate on the other side of the room. I can see life, so I feel like I'm quite connected more, which I guess is more around spirituality and the recognition of life and a much broader time frame, being able to link with things ancestrally. I understand that I'm being guided (74).

Having such a view, Khan reflects:

'... also allows for a more open everyday empathy to others. I'm constantly relinquishing things that I have and keeping things moving, whether it's finances or possessions or whatever. I'm constantly making things circulate and thus kind of building this network (Khan 2016b: 75).

Having read about some of Khan's explorations of entomophagy on the Apocalypse Pantry website, I ask her to reflect on it. Reading her work, I say, I am fascinated to think about how humans may perceive time in terms of a human lifespan; but to imagine insects operating on completely different time scales opens up a possibility of thinking very differently about the time scales of evolution, change and transformation (Khan 2016c). Khan responds with a joke she read recently in a comic: 'It's these two flies, and he's like, hey baby want to get together? And she says no I don't. And he says, whatever, we're going to die in two days anyway' (Khan 2016b).

In our previous interview, she had described an ethos of entomophagy:

'it's the indoctrinations that we've been led to believe, that food is dirty, that we shouldn't do that, but it's also about basic respect for those creatures that share this land with us, and understanding what it takes to eat them. So there are lots of different levels ... it's because we've become so separate that we haven't been able to plug into the availability (of insects)' (Khan 2016: 37).

She connects this description to a larger narrative of indigenous food:

You're not allowed to forage in most places, but then it's just fine for people to raze down those places and build a mall, or put up a farm for things that are already going to waste, like tomatoes. So it's really about supplementing what we are eating, so that on the one hand instead of just eating salvia officinalis, which is sage, what about eating the sage that grows here? It's about eating as biodiverse diet as we can. It's about bringing in those coastal foods and having less reliance on deep sea fish. Stop eating things because the industry tells us that's what we want to eat... We have to start eating more bitter like we used to, in terms of our gut health and intestinal strength, but we also have to be aware that eating is not just about flavour and feeling full (34, 35).

Khan describes another aspect of her indigenous food narrative in terms of seeing potential for economic transformation in indigenous food, reflected in a story she tells about how she is collaborating with the Ethical Co-op, a cooperatively owned online organic food supplier, to introduce a small business producing fermented products from their surplus produce:

'It's so wonderful because you can create a lot more smaller industries like things used to be... it was about cooperative systems, employing people with real jobs, not mining, not farm labour but actual work around food that is spiritual and inspiring... and fun at times, and you know, viable (Khan 2016: 36).

I ask Khan to describe some of the narratives that she thinks give definition to the network. One that she describes is a narrative of engaging youth and linking young people to opportunity, community, connection and a sense of possibility (Khan 2016b: 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 99).

'In the beginning most of us were farming and most of us were connected by the skill of cultivation... it was quickly usurped into the agribusiness sphere, and then the revival of that consciousness within the urban centres, and how many young people are actually farming' (Khan 2016b: 101).

What makes the current urban farming movement among youth interesting, she continues, is that it is part of a broader shifting social dynamic:

You can't survive as a farmer unless you're doing it very sexily... otherwise it doesn't pay off and you have to do other things, and so this narrative sits with everyone. All of a sudden you realise you're a movement of artists, so you're a farmer, but you also have to teach your skill through poetry. You also have to realise your ability and need to dance and illustrate and play music. One of the huge narratives that's come out is we're also a movement of artists... because what's happened is we can't follow the same path as our parents. As a collective, the people who are closest to me, hardly any of us has a retirement package. A lot of us are supporting our own parents while also having our own children. There's a lot of family politics and a big need for people to express their creativity and drive and that cultural side of themselves... It feeds us, each other and ourselves, so that we can continue doing the other work (Khan 2016b: 102, 103).

Another narrative thread of indigenous food and experimentation has also grown in the network, she explains, born out of community gatherings that relied on feeding many people cheaply from donated food, a dynamic that necessitated spontaneity and creativity in being able to assemble various ingredients together on the spot to feed everybody (Khan 2016b: 105):

Ultimately I think in order to be an artist, you have to have the art of storytelling in whatever way it manifests. If you look at the narratives around indigenous food revival and all the ways it manifests, in collecting stories, connecting people, creating new recipes, farming these things, there are all these trajectories that cross over and connect. If you look at the consumption of foods that are created, and the different moments that they cross, and how people collaborate and the different kinds of meals that come out, and the trends that come out in the group through one person's innovation, and the stories of how the recipes move, that is fascinating (Khan 2016b: 104, 105, 106).

Khan describes these narratives as being grounded in places such as Tyisa Nabanye, as well as in a global set of ideas and relationships that draws people together through, for example, the Slow Food Youth Network. She describes a sense of rich interplay between the physical spaces and the networks that link them, and elaborates:

That is what I mean about building solidarity and friendship. You introduce people to one another, and friendships emerge that continue... Businesses spring up... there's a definite community-ation that springs up, a connection to place and space, I guess, around activation, and having these things (referring to Tyisa Nabanye) like pegs to hold down the movement, the network. They're all over the country and all over the world (Khan 2016b: 108).

Khan also highlights a more spiritual dimension to the ways in which people connect through a place:

What place does is connect you immediately to all the people and things and life that flow through it... There's this kind of deep connection, and why it's so interesting around food as well, is it's based in life and species that then are processed in different ways and get consumed by this species, this individual, that DNA, my DNA -- which is a much deeper connection, because all around food, especially if it's good food, there's some sense of life in it. There's

bacteria, there's microbial activity, there's intention, all those things that have much gravitas (109).



Photo 4.8 Fascinated with seeds, Khan has developed the Seed Biblioteek, a local seed sharing and exchange project aimed at preserving seed diversity and sovereignty (photo by Theresa Wigley)

I then ask Khan how she understands the idea of resilience. She responds, laughing, thinking and searching for words:

It's like the support system within the thing that is grounded and solid enough that in times of famine, in times of struggle, in times of vast change and emptiness one can adapt and evolve. Whether it's a person or a system or a species, one is able to move with that and have a sense of fundamental joy... There is fluidity in a sense. I have a strong feminine sense of what resilience is. But also that a lot of it can be hidden and that's what I love, like with resilience and seeds. A seed can be stored in a drawer somewhere and forgotten, and years later still be viable... (Khan 2016b: 113).

And this mention of seed brings us back to the idea of Seeds, and Khan's passion for seed sovereignty, and in a way back full circle to the beginning of the story she has told me, about when she first heard Rachel Wynberg's

presentation on seed laws and seed sovereignty back in 2012, which had in a sense launched her broader explorations of food and brought her to the Slow Food Youth Network. She recalls:

I realised I had to do something. What do I do? And then seeing that the youth network was a powerful place to deal with the seed stuff, but realising that we couldn't really start talking about seed, because no one had really been using seed, or cared that much about seed. I mean, this is only 2012, it wasn't that long ago, but it wasn't time yet. We needed to talk about food first... (Food) overtook everything else because there was such a need, because basic health was down and people were taking their ARV's without food and the environment and culture and all these different issues... Now we're at the level where we realise we can in fact talk about seed again' (Khan 2016b: 114).

She continues:

It's very slow to hit me, but this is the realisation of a very deep dream... you want to touch wood, you don't want to talk about it too much in case it doesn't happen... So it's a very personal thing (Khan 2016b: 114).

I ask Khan if she can explain why it's so deeply personal, and she responds:

'The story of seed, why it's so personal to me, is because I can see it... You've got this whole legal regime around the global seed laws, this whole sensibility around formal and informal, rural and urban, all these really almost fabricated things. It doesn't work in binary, yet there's this strong binary hold... Seed answers for me a way to open up a lot of the things I feel need to be opened up... Seed is within all of us... It brings about a humility, a sensibility ... Because seed is one of those things that deals with other worlds, and is deeply spiritual and majestic and magic and once you start seeing that, and once you start realising or seeing or practicing that, you can't deny it, you can't escape it (Khan 2016b: 114).

Ultimately for me it all comes down to inspiration, it can give you so much hope. When you are on that bottom line survival. When you are giving your life to something... I always think of the Marikana strikers²⁴, because it got to a level where I think they knew they were going to die, or knew they could die... But they just continued. It was bigger than them. When you get to that space where your hope supersedes your existence, it just brings me to tears. I don't know if this is the right word, but there's so much power in that. It can feed for generations (Khan 2016b: 114).

4.6 NAZEER SONDAY, farmer at Vegkop Farm and leader of the Philippi Horticultural Area Food & Farming Campaign

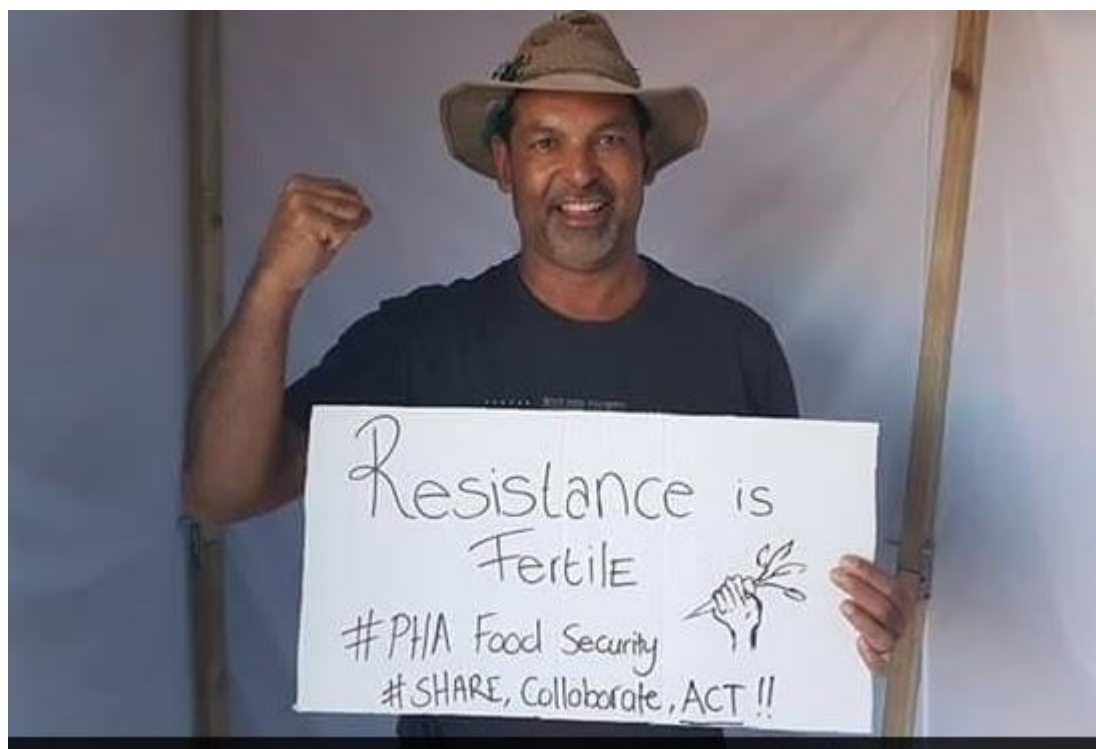


Photo 4.9 Nazeer Sondag has led a 'Hands off PHA' campaign since 2008 in efforts to block proposed housing developments on a unique farming area within the City of Cape Town (photo courtesy of PHA Food & Farming Campaign)

²⁴ An event where South African police opened fire on striking mineworkers at the Lonmin platinum mine on August 16, 2012, killing 34 people in the most lethal use of force by police in post-apartheid history (www.sahistoryonline.org.za)

Nazeer Sondag is a man with a plan to disrupt the stranglehold of the dominant industrial agricultural system and trajectory of urban development in the unique area of farmland on the urban edge of Cape Town where he lives, farms a one hectare plot, and runs the Philippi Horticultural Area Food and Farming Campaign. First I will sketch a brief story of Sondag's life as an activist, set within the context of the unique area in which he farms. In my interpretation, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, the intricate linkages between landscape, political and social justice - are key narrative threads running through his story which form the backdrop to his activism.

Sondag's aim, as described during an interview which took place in July 2016, is to promote small scale agroecological farming as a viable economic alternative and land reform model for the PHA, starting with his own one-hectare farm, known as Vegkop farm, on which he is experimenting with crop diversity, crop rotation, indigenous plants to attract pollinators and support biodiversity, selling his produce through markets and other alternative channels (Lindow 2016). In order to build his own vision for the PHA, however, he must also organise resistance to a plethora of alternative developments and land uses proposed for the area, including housing and sand mining.

In a sense, Sondag's own journey as a food and farming activist has roots in his childhood, growing up in a close-knit and civic-minded Muslim family of small business owners in the PHA (Sondag 2016: 22). He and his family were forcibly removed from the PHA to Kuilsrivier, a town located about 25 kilometres outside of Cape Town, under the apartheid-era Group Areas Act when he was 6 years old (Sondag 2016: 10). As an adult, memories of the freedom of vast open space and farmland attracted him back to the PHA, in spite of conflicted feelings about his family's history of forced removal from the area (Sondag 2016: 11). For many years, he owned a bakery in Mannenberg, and finally in 1991 he bought one hectare of land in the PHA, where he and his father contemplated growing tomatoes commercially (Sondag 2016).

I meet with Sondag on a rainy morning at Vegkop Farm, and we head off in my car so that he can show me around the Philippi Horticultural Area (PHA). The PHA is a 3000 hectare parcel of land that has been under cultivation since German settlers arrived to farm in the 1800s, and which continues to supply a significant share (as much as 80 percent for some types) of fresh produce such as cabbages, spinach, onions, tomatoes and the like consumed by Capetonians (Battersby-Lennard & Haysom 2012; Sondag 2016). The landscape is a curious mixture of the bucolic -- cows graze, tractors roll through green fields where farm workers are busy weeding -- and the derelict, interspersed with abandoned plots of land strewn with rubble and waste dumped illegally, the odd house with its roof caved in, huge open pit sand mining operations, commercial warehouses, including a massive SPAR depot, and informal housing settlements.



Photo 4.10 (Courtesy of PHA Food & Farming Campaign)

Increasingly over the last eight years, developers have come calling, and Sondag has found himself fighting battles with the city to block major new housing and commercial developments on the land, which he says would destroy a unique farming area that is vital to the city's future food security, not

least because the massive Cape Flats Aquifer underneath this soil provides free and abundant water year-round for farming in a water-scarce region with scarce rainfall for the summer growing season; and the PHA constitutes one of the last remaining open floodplain areas on the densely populated Cape Flats, where the water soaks through unpaved fields to recharge the aquifer (Sunday 2016).

Parked in front of a large open field which Sunday says is the site of a proposed new sand mine, we begin our interview. Sunday is intrigued by my mention of the Seeds of the Good Anthropocenes project. It is the end of Ramadan, and Sunday introduces his own story by telling another:

Your seed of the anthropocene study reminds me of the Muslim tradition of Karbala. It's the story of the Prophet Muhammad's, peace be upon him, grandson was martyred. The story basically was that he stood up against Muslims who were the rulers at the time who were unjust, and even though he faced annihilation he took a stand against oppression (Sunday 2016: 5).

As soon becomes clear, the story reflects Sunday's own sense of where his own struggle stands today -- he was awake until 3 am this morning, he says, drafting an objection to the latest housing development proposed for this area. He says:

And so when we cast our seed, it was bizarre, because why are we even putting seed in the ground, because this whole area is going to be annihilated. We're going to lose this whole area, so what's the point of putting seed in the ground. But actually, you know, there is a Prophet's saying that even when the last day is approaching, you must not stop putting seed in the ground. And I'm feeling kind of philosophical this morning. It's the last day of Ramadan, we might break fast with Eid tomorrow. I just thought about it because you talked about the Seed of the Anthropocene. For us, me and my family, we're almost planting a seed, and we don't know what's going to happen in future. We're just hoping for the best (Sunday 2016: 6).

Sunday began farming here in 2006. He had done the calculations and thought he could turn a profitable business growing tomatoes in hydroponic tunnels on this land. A grant from the Department of Agriculture provided the capital to install the tunnels. What he did not anticipate was being locked into dependence on chemical fertiliser inputs -- and when the financial crash of 2008 came, he found that his production costs multiplied while the price he earned for his produce stayed the same. His business failed and he suffered a breakdown, and nearly lost his land (Sunday 2016: 1). He says:

Something was wrong with the whole business model and my approach. It took a whole long painful journey for me to move from that kind of chemically dependent industrial farmer/grower... to where I am now. The journey led me to rethink my own values, actually... Context is so important for me now, because you can't farm or do anything outside of the context of the environment (Sunday 2016: 2).

Sunday describes the experience of having his whole model collapse as a kind of awakening (Sunday 2016):

What happened was that actually I started looking around me. And then I realised that actually I've been staying here since 2001, but I don't know the area. I may know one or two of my neighbours, but I don't know the condition of the area. That put me onto a journey where we started to say, look, we have issues of crime in the area, issues of lack of services... so let's get organised. So me and a couple of neighbours started the ball rolling, getting politically active in the area... so we organised a non-racial civic²⁵... the idea was to get organised in a way that we could start to engage with the council and government, to say this is what we want in terms of service delivery (Sunday 2016: 16).

²⁵ Prior to this, Sunday says, a white commercial farmers' association was the only voice representing the area.

He and his neighbours organised the Schappenkraal civic group, which brought together the PHA's remaining white commercial farmers, a handful of emerging non-white farmers, landowners and informal settlement dwellers to address issues of farming, housing, crime, lack of services, illegal dumping and commercial, industrial and residential development of the PHA. Just as this new civic formed, a developer submitted a proposal to the city to build a 472 hectare housing development on PHA land (Sunday 2016: 16). Sunday recalls:

As a civic, this was one of the first things we had to deal with: do we want this? Is it good? Is it bad? ... I was head of the planning committee... We spoke to a bunch of people, to farmers, to farm-workers, to property owners, to informal settlement people... and the outcome was that people didn't actually want the development. People wanted services more than development... So we opposed the development as a civic, but more than that, we kind of put down a blueprint of what do we want this area to develop into... we developed our own spatial plan of the area... We knew people needed housing, we knew people needed jobs, but we knew also that we wanted this area to remain as a farming area (Sunday 2016: 17, 18, 19).

I ask Sunday what he found inspiring in these processes of community involvement. He responds:

You know, deep down, I think I discovered I was like my mother and my father, also community-oriented. My father was a businessman, but he was also somebody who made sure that the people around him are also uplifted. My mother is one of the founders of an old age home... (He laughs) So I think the inspiration for the craziness comes from them. I blame them (Sunday 2016: 22).

Sunday also says he felt it was important to him to be part of a process that was not only pointing out problems and complaining to the city, but also offered constructive, proactive solutions (23, 24, 25).

At the same time, he began reading authors such as Raj Patel and Michael Pollan, whose critiques of commercial food and farming systems resonated with his own experiences, and led him to embrace agro-ecology (27, 28, 29, 40). Sondag's descriptions of the influences of these authors on his own thinking reflects Sage's view of such activist-academics as 'shaping cosmologies' that come to define broader social movements (2014). As an emerging farmer himself, Sondag began to think of agro-ecology as a more viable model for small emerging farmers and land reform beneficiaries, and he began to see the PHA as a potential testing ground for these new approaches (Sondag 2016 12, 21, 42, 43, 57). Of reading *Stuffed and Starved* by Raj Patel, he recalls:

One of the things I learned from his book was the externalities of the food system. He's talking about on a global level, but it also happens at a local level. I've experienced it myself (Sondag 2016: 26).

We continue driving, with periodic stops at places of interest, such as the site of one huge farm on the edge of the PHA where a new commercial and housing development of 40,000 units has been proposed (Sondag 2016). According to Sondag, PHA farmers produce 150,000 tonnes of fresh produce and flowers a year, and play a crucial role as suppliers to the local informal food economy (Battersby-Lennard & Haysom 2012). Sondag counts some 50 crops being grown here, such as cabbage, spinach, potatoes, onions and carrots. A thousand head of the cows, sheep and other livestock raised here supply the informal economy, and also are slaughtered in cultural religious ceremonies and rituals held across Cape Town (Sondag 2016: 31).



Photo 4.11 (Courtesy of PHA Food & Farming Campaign)

As we pass the SPAR depot, I ask how much local produce they buy, and discussion ensues. According to Sunday, 80 percent of the 150,000 tonnes of PHA produce goes to four local retailers: SPAR, PicknPay, Woolworths and Fruit and Veg City (Sunday 2016). He continues:

But you know, I'll give you an example of what's the problem. I was telling you, you know, how the value chain captures the farmers, it captures the value of their work, you see, and that's the problem. So this is what's going on, but how to change it is another thing... Over here from the farm to the distributor is a stone's throw away. The cabbages are sold in SPAR for R27 and the farmer gets R5... So in the end the food system just creates food insecurity because it just outprices the cost of food, and then the farmer doesn't get enough money from the retailer, and his operation is also externalising the environmental costs of how he operates (Sunday 2016: 33, 34).

He continues, reflecting Wiskerke's criticism (2009) of the placeless geography of industrial food, which disconnects, disembeds and disintwines food from its social, cultural and physical contexts:

Our potatoes are very nice, but you'll never hear of Philippi potatoes... It's the resistance of the retailers. They don't want you to know where your food comes from... It comes from their store, you know. It's a Woolworths cabbage, not a PicknPay cabbage (Sunday 2016: 33, 34).

As my sense of Sunday's story develops through our interaction, I begin to form a picture of the PHA as a landscape of contested narratives (46, 47). In Sunday's stories, I identify a broad narrative of opposition to neoliberalism, represented in the food system by Patel's schematic showing the concentration of power in the corporate food supply chain (Patel 2009; Sunday 2016: 45). According to Sunday, the city supports a broad narrative in which the PHA is a derelict zone in which no one really wants to farm, which supports their view of the PHA as a site for new housing developments to ease the strains of local population growth and growing demand for housing (Sunday 2016: 45). Sunday, on the other hand, presents a narrative in which the PHA performs vital ecosystem services, particularly through the recharge of the Cape Flats Aquifer and the production of healthy, local, affordable food (49, 57, 58, 59, 60). In this narrative, an emerging new cadre of black smallholder agro-ecological farmers would become the custodians of this unique social-ecological resource, resisting the current dominant patterns of maldevelopment in the city, driven by an extractive neoliberal mode of governance (Sunday 2016: 45, 47, 49, 57, 60).

This narrative extends to the political system, as Sunday interrogates the state of participatory democracy in South Africa, through relating his own experiences of poor service delivery and opaque consultation processes about new developments proposed in the PHA. 'A lot of the issues we touch on are actually poor governance,' he says (Sunday 2016: 64). He says:

A lot of politicians in the city think they're not accountable to us, the voters, so we go through a lot of rigmarole of setting up civics and getting organised and becoming the voice of the people... And then the politicians say actually we don't listen to you, we have a plan for you and you must just swallow it... It's very deeply rooted in this province... We're coming out of a very authoritarian background... I think we, especially the people who get into power, they don't understand the deep values of freedom ... So the response is look, we've been elected by the people of the city, so we will govern in your best interest. I don't get democracy to be like that. I get democracy to be that people are part of the decision-making process (Sunday 2016: 47).

Sunday also casts his own personal experience within this broader narrative of resisting power, corruption and oppression. When I ask what keeps him going in the very hard business of farming, he tells me:

Look, I spent 12 years in the bakery business. I love working with my hands. I like to think of myself as a producer, whether I'm producing bread or confectionary, or now farming... I think the producers are actually an endangered species. You see, the corporations have taken over all the production, and vertically aligned their supply chains. I'm an economic refugee of the neoliberal capitalist production system, you see, there's no room for small producers and growers. The companies just use their might to squeeze you out of business (Sunday 2016: 44).

As we return to Vegkop Farm, Sunday explains more of his thinking about developing new agro-ecological models of farming for emerging black farmers in the PHA. It is Tuesday, and several volunteers are weeding in the fields. A one-story structure nearby houses the Food and Farming Campaign centre, the concrete walls adorned with posters and pickets carrying such slogans as 'Resistance is Fertile'. This is a space for events, gatherings, sharing knowledge among farmers, activists and policymakers. The space has hosted public seminars on the aquifer with scientists, meetings with policymakers, even a book launch.



Photo 4.12 (courtesy of PHA Food & Farming Campaign)

Sonday describes this as a multifunctional space, aiming to generate diverse ecosystem services and income streams, while likewise bringing together diverse communities of people: currently he and a small group of volunteers are building a dam, piling up mounds of earth as windbreaks to shelter plants from harsh, dry summer winds (52, 53, 54). The farming system under development here is aimed at generating multiple income streams and diverse ecological inputs, for example fish, eggs, birds for meat and manure, as well as indigenous fynbos to maintain functional biodiversity and harbour beneficial insects. He plans to introduce between 75 and 100 species of vegetables, fruit, flowers, medicinal plants, and nut trees (52, 53, 54). ‘One of the things is you don’t want to delete your local environment, your local grass species, your local trees... You make it part of your production system’, Sonday explains (59).

The goal is to develop a financially viable model of diversified, small-scale farming, which can then serve as a template for other emerging black farmers, Sondag says. This means things like identifying a small shredder as an important resource to have on every farm to ensure steady supplies of compost, which according to Sondag is far more important than having a tractor. The idea is to build this model, demonstrate that it works, and then advocate for appropriate forms of governmental support to enable others to replicate it (Sondag 2016: 55, 56). He says:

There's no doubt about it, small farmers need to have support from government. But we're thinking we need support on the farm in terms of infrastructure and to help put systems in place, but actually the farm is supposed to take care of itself... We want to see how we can do this model with very little resources, because farmers are in that situation... We're developing a model to replace the industrial farming model in the future... We see in future that this area will have 1000 one-hectare or two-hectare farms and a diversity of what is produced and the way it's produced. It's a dream we're fighting for (Sondag 2016: 57).



Photo 4.13 Vegkop Farm (photo by Megan Lindow)

I say to him: So this place is the first seed to growing a very different reality for this whole area. Which elicits this story in response:

You see, this area is very interesting. It started off in 1885 as a highly intensive food producing area. Before that, the Khoi and the San used this area for grazing, for the animals. So because the city was growing, we needed more vegetables, this area was developed to a vegetable farming area. So that history of starting off small, those farmers you know they were from Germany. They were promised paradise (laughs) they had a big problem! They washed away in winter and they baked and blew dry in summer with the south-easter. But they overcame all the odds and developed a food production model, which served the city and which served them well. Gradually they moved into a large scale industrial setup and that's not working anymore for them either. So now we are carrying the new vision for how we want to see it in future again, you see it's very interesting, and we're also starting off in a difficult position (Sunday 2016: 58).

The challenge of emerging black farmers today 'as they develop new knowledge and strategies for dealing with land reform, the economics of farming and its environmental challenges', he says, mirrors the challenges faced more than 135 years ago by the German settlers who arrived in an unfamiliar and inhospitable place and had to figure out how to survive and eventually thrive there. The comparison gives him hope that the task is not insurmountable (Lindow 2016; Sunday 2016: 58).

For Sunday, a pivotal turning point -- the point where he realised he was truly committed to the cause of the PHA -- was being part of the civic group planning committee, working closely with a handful of neighbours to develop a spatial blueprint for the area, imagining as a community how they wanted to see the PHA evolve as a viable community and place of food production within the urban boundary (Sunday 2016: 73). 'It was such a wonderful process, an empowering process, a process where you get to really shape future action, you know,' he says. 'If you think about it, we were expressing our democratic right in our new democracy'.

Seeing the jumbled, somewhat derelict appearance of the quasi-agricultural, quasi-industrial PHA landscape, I can't help observing that appearances might well support the city's narrative that nobody wants to live or farm in the PHA, and that it could rather be developed as valuable commercial and residential land. For Sondag, one of the biggest challenges is reaching the broader Cape Town public with a compelling counter-narrative. 'Here we have a significant farming area in the city limits that's providing the city's food,' He says. 'Once I tell (people) in three sentences, they get it: Do you know where your food comes from? Do you know if this area is gone, it's going to impact you?' (Sondag 2016).

When I met with Sondag, one strategy the campaign was pursuing was an appeal to Heritage Western Cape to declare the PHA a Heritage site, which would preserve the area's rural character and supercede the city's authority, blocking future commercial and housing developments (Sondag 2016). In February 2017, a Heritage Tribunal dismissed a developer's second appeal to re-zone a portion of PHA land for a proposed development, handing the Food & Farming Campaign its first affirmation of support from government and raising the possibility of long-term protection of the entire PHA (Sondag 2017). Sondag, however, said he expected the city to challenge this ruling, and that eventually the case, involving contested national, provincial and municipal jurisdictions, would go to the Constitutional Court (Sondag 2017).

Returning to our interview at the PHA, as we wait in the car for a colleague, I ask Sondag what keeps him committed to building his vision in the PHA. He answers:

It's a matter of justice perhaps. A hyper sense of justice... it's so unjust, you just can't walk away from something like this. I can't anyway (Sondag 2016).

Chapter 5: Exploring resilience capacities through storymaking

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present a synthesis of the stories and narratives captured through the storymaking method in the previous chapter, in combination with IPA analysis (See also Appendices A, B and C). The stories highlight diverse ways in which a small number of food innovators are responding to particular challenges of the Western Cape food landscape, situated within a larger Anthropocene context. The core of this chapter is dedicated to exploring and synthesizing my interpretations of these stories through Brown's three core resilience capacity themes of Rootedness, Resourcefulness and Resistance (2015).

Before conducting the IPA analysis, however, from simply reading the interview transcripts I was able to identify six overarching narratives that were expressed across many (or in some cases, all) of the different interviews. These narratives are identified in Table 5.1., with the initial of each participant's surname in whose story I found the common overarching narrative reflected (i.e. K = Khan, M = Mgcayi).

Table 5.1 Key narratives of food innovators

N1: Indigenous food (K, M, R, V)	A narrative of ecological resilience, reconnecting to values of the land, and dietary diversity through indigenous foods
N2: Intergenerational connection (K, M, R, S, V)	A narrative of connecting to generations past, present and future through a sense of relationship to food and nature, a relational view of life
N3: Youth empowerment (K, M)	A narrative of empowering youth in the face of societal exclusion and injustice
N4: People-nature reconnections (K, M, R, S, V)	A narrative of reconnecting to nature, drawing inspiration from nature, through food, and particularly through growing food ecologically

N5: Community building through food (K, M, R, S)	A narrative of strengthening social cohesion and collective identity and participation through food
N6: Network of artistry and industry (K, M, V)	A narrative of strengthening artistic creativity and expression and creating small scale entrepreneurial opportunity through food

These six narratives were not used in conducting the IPA analysis, but I came back to these later on in writing up this chapter, as they provided a useful way of ordering some of the discussion points in the following sections.

5.3 Rootedness, Resourcefulness and Resistance

Here I pick up on Brown's three themes of Rootedness, Resourcefulness and Resistance, introduced in chapters 2 and 3, which emerged in the IPA process as 'resilience capacity' lenses through which to study the different narratives that surfaced in my own work. Table 5.2 shows the key themes that emerged from my IPA analysis under each heading. See Appendix A for the full clustering of emergent themes, drawn from each interview. As explained in Chapter 4, each emergent theme is numbered in Appendix A and linked by number across the stories, the analysis, and the Complete Cluster Analysis Table (Appendix B). This numbering system is provided to help the reader follow my process of analysis, and to provide a clear picture of how the different themes and threads connect up through the stories, analysis and synthesis. Table 5.2 (below) shows the broad themes into which all the emergent themes were clustered in the IPA process. I use and combine these broad themes from Table 5.2 as sub-headings in my discussions of the 3R's.

Table 5.2 Clustering of key themes using IPA analysis

Rootedness (identity, attachment)	Resourcefulness (process)	Resistance (organising principles for change)
1) Connection to people, place, ecology 2) Shifting values, perceptions, awareness 3) Heritage/inter-	1) Self-reliance 2) Biological and cultural diversity 3) Perceptions of food and landscape 4) Participation and	1) food and land injustices 2) Changing dietary practices 3) Artistry and creativity 4) Challenging

generational ties 4) Responsibility to the land 5) Observation and exploration of place 6) Dealing with pain of dispossession, injustice, ecological damage 7) Social and ecological diversity; cultural identity 8) Wellbeing	collaboration 5) Inclusivity 6) Building social capital 7) Accessing resources 8) Learning (incl. from nature) 9) Innovation 10) Intuition, creative process 11) Adaptation, cultural change	entrenched mindsets and practices 5) Governance challenges 6) Self-reliance 7) Resisting exploitation 8) Diversity 9) Strengthening participation 10) Refuge and regeneration
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As the table reveals, some of these broad themes interconnect: for example, I found that the theme of self-reliance, was articulated by participants in ways that fit both as a feature of resourcefulness and as a feature of resistance. Similarly, I found that emergent themes often also touched on several different sub-themes. For example, I interpreted Khan's story of collaborating and innovating recipes with indigenous food ingredients in the SFYN to feed large gatherings cheaply (Khan 2016b: 105, 106), as fitting with numerous 'Resourcefulness' themes, including diversity, participation, inclusivity, learning, innovation, social capital, creativity and cultural adaptation. Such thematic density perhaps reflects the richness and incompressibility of the story form (Kurtz 2014), essentially meaning that experience resists categorisation.

5.3.1 Rootedness

Brown defines rootedness as '(acknowledging) the situated nature of resilience, and the importance of culture and place -- not only as physical environment and context, but also as identity and attachment' (Brown 2015: 3). This multidimensional concept of rootedness, comprising physical, economic, social, environmental, health and psychological considerations as well as practical factors like availability of resources and services in a community (Brown 2015), provided a lens for exploring the richness of identity

and connection in the participants' experiences, which was often expressed both in terms of complex personal challenges and growth (i.e. Rusch's story of coming to identify as a healer (2017: 73)), and in terms of rich, fulfilling and sometimes conflicted relationships to broader communities, to plants, to the land and to life itself. The following section synthesises key narratives through the lens of Rootedness as outlined above, integrating the different themes of heritage, perception, responsibility to the land, and reconnecting people and nature.

5.3.1.1 Heritage

My interpretative analysis of interviews suggests that for many participants a sense of identity is rooted in the particular heritage and contemporary challenges of the Western Cape as an Anthropocene space, where for example, old unresolved tensions over land restitution are boiling while new spectres of drought, climate change and biodiversity loss are emerging (Khan 2016: 9, 14, 19; Moore 2016). Several participants' sense of identity seemed to cut to the heart of deep tensions and wounds around land, heritage, culture, and the politics of food and food access in South Africa, that stem from the country's colonial and apartheid past, and persist in the present, as poverty and inequality remain entrenched, with deep repercussions in the food system (Khan 2016: 3, 17, 18, 22; Ledger 2016; Mgcoyi 2016: 4, 11, 13; Sondag 2016: 10, 11, 47).

In each person's story, I found that personal and familial roots and heritage often played an important and sometimes complex role in their thinking and food activism, reflecting a common narrative of intergenerational connection (N2), explored in the following paragraphs. Sondag's story, for example, evokes the rich heritage of the PHA as land that was grazed by Khoisan ancestors long before industrious nineteenth century German farmers put down roots and then struggled under harsh conditions to develop productive farmland to feed the growing city (Sondag 2016: 58). Showing a strong sense of family identity, Sondag describes the influence of his community-minded parents on inspiring him to help innovate and develop a new farming model for the PHA, in an emerging context where farmers, and especially black

farmers once dispossessed of land, become the guardians of the Cape Flats Aquifer and a vital supply of nutritious, affordable food to the informal economy, supporting resilience in a growing city faced with twenty-first century crises of water and food insecurity (Sunday 2016: 22, 67, 68,70).

In Mgcoyi's story, the experience of living at Tyisa Nabanye and practicing permaculture farming surfaced a powerful sense of connection to old stories her grandmother used to tell her about growing food and living off the land in the rural Eastern Cape. She reflected that these same stories had not resonated so deeply during her childhood in the city, but only after her grandmother's values came alive for her through her own experiences of permaculture and community-building (Mgcoyi 2016: 15, 16, 18-23). In a sense, it seems perhaps that her grandmother's stories planted a seed which came to fruition through creative response to the practical challenges of not having money or a job, which was a common challenge that led most of the six key founders of Tyisa Nabanye to inhabit ERF 81 in the first place (Mgcoyi 2016: 6).

As Mgcoyi describes (2016: 6), the simple act of planting seeds in the ground for basic sustenance, as their grandparents used to, brought together this small group of friends and enabled them to connect with each other and develop a larger vision of community, creativity and food sovereignty. As Mgcoyi relates, artistic expression and an awareness of permaculture, plants and ecological relationships began to merge in her mind with memories of her grandmother's stories, culminating in a theatre performance piece which she was composing at the time of our interview, to reflect themes of seeds, culture and history, as well as the displacement of migration from the rural areas to the city (Mgcoyi 2016: 10, 15, 26).

Mgcoyi had reflected at length on how she thought her grandparents' stories may have shaped or influenced parts of her own life, and her way of seeing the world. Mgcoyi spoke of her grandmother's stories about the joys in the daily rituals of rural life: singing and gathering water from the river, and then continued to relate how she had been inspired by these stories, in

combination with her exposure to permaculture principles, and connected both sources of inspiration to her merging heritage, nature and soil, and the creative arts in interventions to reach and inspire youth (Mgcoyi 2016: 23). Thus Mgcoyi's story reflects and combines three different common narrative themes in this work: intergenerational connection (N2), reconnecting to the land (N4), and a network of artists (N6).

Mgcoyi's reflections on the intergenerational stories that were seeded in her life, speaks also to the ancient function of story of passing deep knowledge, including ecological knowledge, from one generation to the next (Coe et al. 2006). Her experience suggests ways in which intergenerational stories may transmit across time and across different contexts to influence the future; but at the same time that these links are tenuous and may be severed or go dormant, for example as people move from a rural to an urban setting and lose their connections to land (Mgcoyi 2016: 15, 16, 18, 22; Rusch 2017: 67, 71). Such dynamics are reflected in the idea of a society's canon of stories working as a complex adaptive system, continuously adapting and changing, influenced by various dynamics and feedbacks. To me this suggests the possibility that Mgcoyi developed, through her own experience, a new appreciation for a particular worldview expressed in her grandmother's stories, and was inspired by this worldview to adapt or reinterpret aspects of it to fit a new context, highlighting the possibility of stories as an adaptive response to change (Mgcoyi 2016: 20, 22, 23, 26; Brown 2015).

Khan's story of seeds, meanwhile, highlights another aspect of heritage and the intergenerational narrative (N2), as she describes the deep inspiration she draws from seeds as diverse repositories of natural and cultural heritage, and as sacred metaphorical symbols of the potency and feminine mystery of life itself (Khan 2016b: 114). Khan narrates how learning about global and national policies, aimed at promoting proprietary and commercial seed regimes, raised powerful feelings of opposition in her that fuelled her activism. In my view, important personal values of diversity, freedom and ancient heritage surface in Khan's telling of her seed stories, revealing layers of meaning in the inspiration and motivations behind her approach to developing

the SFYN, with its core values of inclusivity and ‘food beyond dependency’. Seen in this light, her story suggests the potential of the network to be a site for transmission of intergenerational values through an ancient yet continuously developing and evolving story of seeds (Khan 2016, 2016b: 24, 26, 40, 73, 75, 99, 114, 115).

5.3.1.2 Perception and awareness

Another ‘Rootedness’ theme related to the above has to do with awareness and ways of seeing -- an awareness that one’s particular frame of reference shapes how one sees and acts in the world (Lejano et al. 2013). In my interpretation, the significance of all the participants finding such resonance in the stories of old traditions and heritage, sometimes relayed directly from older generations, reflects not so much a conservative or nostalgic wish to return to an idealised past, but rather a process of discovering, or recovering, different forms of traditional knowledge and recognising its potential relevance or usefulness in new, contemporary contexts, as Mgcoyi’s story above suggests. This appears to link with an important temporal dimension of resilience highlighted by Brown (2015), who casts adaptation as a continuous process that needs a diversity of resources to draw from, reflecting the importance of indigenous or traditional ecological knowledge as an important repository of different knowledge systems (Brown 2016: 121). As Khan points out (2016: 60, 61), much of indigenous knowledge would have been learnt from the land itself, which implies that the land still could be a source of knowledge, if only people’s mental models and worldviews enable them to recognise this. This observation points to the richness of different cultural perspectives on how knowledge is developed, rooted in particular experiences and ways of seeing the world (Abram 1999; Ingold 2006).

In several cases, participants described experiences that led them to shift their own mental models, or ways of seeing the world, and which appeared to me to connect to strong motivations behind the respective Seeds projects. Some participants described how learning to ‘see things differently’ influenced

their value systems, inspiring them for example to become more community-minded and develop stronger visions of collective wellbeing and a deeper appreciation for the rich, mutually sustaining relationships through which life emerges (Khan 2016; Mgcoyi 2016; Rusch 2016; Sondag 2016; van der Merwe 2016).

Sondag, for example, describes his failure at commercial farming as an event that led him to interrogate his own values and connect more deeply to the PHA and fight for recognition of its unique and strategic land reform, food security and climate resilience values (2016: 2, 16, 20, 32, 70, 73). Rusch, meanwhile, describes how reading *One Straw Revolution* led her to shift her thinking and see the landscape differently. She also describes another mental shift as she began to see herself as a healer, working to heal the Earth through the creation of a local indigenous food economy (2016: 18; 2017: 73). For Mgcoyi, meanwhile, it seems that connecting to a deeper ancestral part of herself both through place, and through permaculture principles, helped strengthen a commitment to developing a fertile space in the heart of the city for diverse people to come together around ecology and food (2016 13, 15, 15, 20-23; 2017).

In my interpretation, all these experiences described by participants suggest the importance of perception, and learning to see differently, in re-animating connections between people and nature in the Anthropocene. Rusch notes (2017: 66) that foraging in the landscape is often a first step towards people seeing food in the landscape -- a view which then opens new possibilities for thinking about indigenous food production as a climate resilient adaptation. Rusch (2016) and van der Merwe (2016) both had observed, for example, that indigenous edibles such as the highly seasonal, asparagus-like veldkool, often tend to grow in ecologically disturbed areas with poor soils. This prompted thinking about cultivating these hardy pioneer species on ecologically degraded lands such as fire breaks, within private conservation areas - an idea which would require both cultural and regulatory adaptation and change (Rusch 2016: 15, 16, 48; 2017). In narrative terms, it seems to me that seeing food as a natural part of the landscape has led to a sense of

openness to experimenting with indigenous crop cultivation in disturbed areas, instead of taking the ‘hands-off’ approach of a worldview in which food production is separated from ‘nature’ (Rusch 2016: 51). These stories highlight some ways in which food innovators may be exercising their agency, in small and subtle ways, to shift mental models and resource flows within their spheres of influence (Westley et al. 2013).

5.3.1.3 Responsibility to the land

All the participants articulated a common theme of seeing and valuing unique and diverse qualities of the local social-ecological landscape. Tyisa Nabanye, for example, despite its challenges, is celebrated by Mgcoyi as being a space that brings together socially, culturally, racially and economically diverse people in an ecologically rich fragment of the City Bowl of Cape Town, a place she describes as being exclusive and socially fragmented in many ways (2016: 5, 26).

Strong in the indigenous food narrative (N1) is the idea of having a rich awareness of the land and all of its complex interactions and visible and invisible relationships which support life (Khan 2016: 5). This was a particularly rich theme in my interviews with Khan, who expressed that she had always felt a strong sense of ‘responsibility to the land’ (2016: 8, 15) as well as a strong sense of wonder at how organisms ‘just perpetuate and survive’ (Khan 2016b: 113).

Related to this is the idea of the edible landscape, expressed by Rusch (2017) as she examined clusters of dune spinach and dune celery on the beach in Kommetjie, one of the spots where she had first learned to forage. Rusch reflected that she related to the idea of Songlines, in terms of her relationship to the land and how the land could support her: ‘I love that, it’s giving me a slight idea of the relationship an indigenous person might have to the landscape. If you keep returning to your favourite patch of dune spinach year after year and then you find that patch is gone... it’s that sense of responsibility and deep connection to each other and to the land’ (Rusch 2017: 67).

A few moments earlier, Rusch had shared a humorous anecdote about preparing an indigenous wild food dinner as part of the Secret Spier Festival in 2015. She had discovered a wealth of veldkool growing on a patch of municipal lawn in Kommetjie and was counting on harvesting this stash to serve with one of the courses. On the day she returned to harvest, she found a crew of municipal workers mowing the lawn. Frantically she dashed from her car and began gathering up as much veldkool as she could before the workers could get to it with their weed whackers. To me this story highlights how Rusch, attuned to seeing food in the landscape, values an edible resource that persists in the margins and refugia of a wider landscape, that is invisible to most people. This resonates with a view of the importance of stewardship as an adaptive response to the Anthropocene, in which collective values inspire care for communities and life relationships beyond the self (Bousquet et al. 2016; Folke et al. 2016).

Khan and van der Merwe both, meanwhile, describe the emotional impact of coming to terms with vanishing biodiversity in the Anthropocene. For van der Merwe, the enormity of loss is revealed in huge contrasts of scale, both as he describes how Google Maps reveals tiny remaining fragments and refugia of biodiverse strandveld fynbos, and as he describes the tiny geographical ranges within which entire local plant species exist (2016: 21). My interview with Khan, meanwhile, set on Signal Hill, prompts her to imagine what a biodiverse coastal landscape would have looked like centuries ago. She reflects on the present diminished state of local biodiversity with sadness, and draws a link to the social and historical context of the Western Cape, marvelling at how people, plants and nature persist in the face of various forms of annihilation, dispossession and exclusion (Khan 2016: 3, 4, 24).

Khan, Rusch and van der Merwe all expressed a sense of responsibility for protecting the uniqueness and rich biodiversity of the Cape Floral Kingdom, an intensely threatened plant kingdom endemic to the Western Cape, reflecting the interplay of global and local responsibilities inherent in the idea

of the Western Cape as an Anthropocene space (Khan 2016: 8, 9; Rusch 2017: 67, 71; van der Merwe 2016: 25, 30, 37, 38).

The agency of nonhuman actors in the landscape is palpable in van der Merwe's story. Walking around in the coastal nature reserve outside Paternoster where he explores almost daily, he describes the most intricate and seasonal interactions taking place in front of our eyes, visible in the colours and fragrances of flowering plants; the highly specialised performances of certain insects; and van der Merwe's own creative process of interpreting these intricate flavours and qualities into recipes and platings (van der Merwe 2016: 18-20, 22-24, 36). Khan and van der Merwe both underscore the importance of connecting to the land and ecology through the different flavours, herbs, salts, clays, resins that make up its unique character and identity (Khan 2016: 40; van der Merwe 2016: 35).

5.3.1.4 Reconnecting people and nature in an Anthropocene space

Weber proposes the idea of 'Enlivenment' as a term reflecting the 'freedom as individuals and groups to be <<alive in connectedness>>²⁶ - the freedom that comes only through aligning one's individual needs and interests with those of the larger community. Only this integrated freedom can provide the power to reconcile humanity with the natural world' (2013: 12).

Participants' stories captured both the joyful possibilities of this idea, as well as some of the difficult tensions and conflicted meanings of such reconnection, on a planet of disturbed ecologies, and in societies scarred by long legacies of dispossession and injustice. Participants' stories highlighted difficult questions, for example, of what can truly be considered 'natural', or 'indigenous', in the context of an Anthropocene space of hybrid identifications, homogenising global cultures, transient peoples and species.

Many of the food innovators' stories, narratives and reflections expressed strong feelings of attachment, connection and belonging. On the one hand,

²⁶ I preserve the author's style of punctuation from the original text.

participants generally expressed a relational view of life, and acknowledged the rich and manifold ways in which food helps connect people to land and ecology, culture and community, encapsulated in the common narrative of people-nature reconnection (N4). Attachment to place naturally emerged as an important feature of Rootedness, reflecting also Wiskerke's (2009) concept of an alternative food geography being one in which food is reconnected, embedded and intertwined into a local landscape and its particular culture, economy and environment. However, participants also at times expressed a sense of the emotional complexity of dealing with unresolved legacies of injustice and dispossession, which appeared to me to strongly influence one's sense of relationship and connection to place.

In Sunday's story, for example, of coming back to the PHA after he and his family had been forcibly removed, I saw redemption in the idea of his fighting for a 'fertile' future for the area; but also palpable to me was a sense of injustice and disillusionment in his having to fight such a battle, in a new era in which, as he describes it, forces of market neoliberalism and growth-oriented 'development' are replacing the apartheid system of the past as instruments of oppression destroying the fabric of communities (Sunday 2016: 2, 10-12, 16).

Other participants' stories raised inherent tensions in questions of what is indigenous and authentic, or 'natural,' in an Anthropocene world. This was palpable, for example, in the stories related by Khan, Rusch and van der Merwe of visiting communities in which local knowledge of indigenous food persists yet increasingly appears to be under threat, for example through a sense of social stigma in communities where the influence of supermarkets and consumer culture is gaining hold (van der Merwe 2016: 7, 8). Rusch's story of her walk in the landscape with an older woman on the west coast who had grown up with indigenous foods, also suggests the richness of indigenous food knowledge that persists in isolated refugia, and in memories, and how these memories can be activated through sensory experiences of food and landscape (Rusch 2016: 39).

These observations reflect an aspect of the resilience principle of connectivity in a system, in which diverse species and practices may sometimes persist in refugia and marginal spaces that are isolated, or insulated, from mainstream systems (Biggs et al. 2012). In this case, the values of self-reliance and indigenous cultural practices rooted in local ecologies, which can be seen as potentially supporting resilience, are actually eroded in mainstream society and supported in the marginal spaces where the reach of modern infrastructures and social habits is more limited.

As noted by Khan, there is also a rich interplay between the networks and the physical places, for example the global narratives of indigenous food held within the Slow Food Movement, and where these meet in local landscapes and contexts. This is expressed in Khan's (2016b: 108) sense of places such as Tyisa Nabanye as anchors, or pegs holding the 'movement' and its values in physical space. It is through such stories of connection that the common narrative of food and community also emerges (N5).

In the Rootedness theme, there is a key aspect of connection and recognition -- through one's intimate attachment or connection to a place or a community, one recognises changes which may be critical to forming responses to change, as in Rusch's story of finding edible wild pioneers amidst failing wheat crops (2017: 70). Having explored these themes of attachment and identity, displacement and injustice, connection and belonging, through place and through narrative-networks, I will now integrate the more process-oriented dimension of resourcefulness into the synthesis.

5.3.2 Resourcefulness

Brown's definition of resourcefulness 'considers the resources available and how they can be accessed and used in response to change' (Brown 2015: 3). These include 'capacities, knowledges, innovation and learning' (Brown 2015: 3). In my analysis presented here, I focus particularly on processes of creating change as well as adapting to change, as I found that most participants, as food innovators, were focused on wanting to change the food system. I understood the concept of resourcefulness to focus on process and

mobilisation in the stories I gathered: *how* exactly was knowledge or innovation or learning harnessed in each context to advance the development of the Seed and its broader aims? In this sense, resourcefulness is about being able to draw on different capacities such as social capital and ‘indigenous intelligences’, and ‘to use them at the right time, in the right way’ (Brown 2015: 198-199). Westley et al. (2013) call this the ‘deft mobilisation of energy’. The following section will synthesise key narratives through the lens of Resourcefulness, as described above, integrating different key themes of self-reliance, diversity, ‘sympoeisis’ and creativity, learning and innovation.

5.3.2.1 Self-reliance and intuition

In my interpretations of participants’ interviews (Rusch and Khan in particular), the role of intuition in building social capital came through as a strong dimension of resourcefulness. How does one know how to draw on different kinds of resources and use them at the right time and in the right way? I did not initially see intuition as related to self-reliance, but in the course of the interpretative processes, particularly with Khan’s and Rusch’s transcripts, I came to understand intuition, or as Rusch called it, instinctiveness, as an important resource that food innovators draw upon to shape their own independent approaches to making change, working at the margins and liminal spaces between formal governance mechanisms and centres of power. Essentially there is no blueprint for their kind of work: they shape their own approaches, in which intuition serves as a frequent guide (Khan 2016b: 72, 75, 76; Rusch 2016: 34, 36, 58).

For Harding (2009), drawing on the work of Carl Jung, intuition reflects a nonverbal mode of perception, in which knowledge of how to act (how to take care of a new and developing network of people, for example) develops through subconscious perception and recognition, rather than through the ‘thinking’ mode of analysis (Harding 2009). This idea is also reflected, in the anecdote from Khan that follows, in Poli’s idea of ‘learning to dance’ with complex systems (2013: 142):

Khan's descriptions of developing the Slow Food Youth Network reflect her having to balance several tensions, including a tension of playing her own role as an individual driving the process of formation, holding and cultivating the space and the network, in relation to a wider collective; as well as a tension between actively driving the process and stepping back and allowing for emergence (Khan 2016b: 27, 47, 73). Similar tensions were described in the community building narratives (N5) of Rusch, Sondag and Mgcoyi in walking fine lines between being individuals with their own visions of change, yet also in seeing themselves as part of larger collectives, acting out their own roles with a sense of orientation towards a larger community. This tension is reflected in Khan's descriptions of having to 'hold' the SFYN as it develops to gain its own 'kinetic force', on the one hand, while on the other working to intentionally shape a community and praxis of self-care and love (Khan 2016b: 75).

This intuitive dimension of resourcefulness resonates somewhat with the resilience principle of managing complex adaptive systems from a complexity worldview (Biggs et al. 2012), as their stories of working with fluidity, sensitivity and responsiveness to their particular context suggest mental models that are attuned to complexity and resilience thinking. Rusch also observes a similarity between her own instinctive approach and resilience thinking (2016, 2017). This ability to 'see the system' and weave networks reflects the important roles played by such individuals as innovators or entrepreneurs, in contrast to more traditional styles of leadership (Westley et al. 2013).

Concerned with process, the resourcefulness lens pulls some of the tensions of agency highlighted in Chapter 2 into focus. Some of the stories highlight ways in which the food innovators navigate the ethics of their own agency. Rusch, for example, describes herself as a 'wild food innovator', in reference to her approach of connecting different people and means (such as academic research, or business development) to the overarching goal of creating an indigenous food economy in the Western Cape (Rusch 2016: 7, 11, 26, 41, 46). Playing this role as a connector and big picture thinker, Rusch is in a

position to involve herself broadly in many different facets of cultivation, research, storytelling, business generation, again reflecting the potential of individual agency to help catalyse systemic shifts (Westley et al. 2013).

The idea of the edible landscape serves as a powerful symbol of self-reliance when, as Rusch is fond of saying, indigenous edible plants simply grow themselves without any need for intensive irrigation or soil inputs (2016: 21-23). Mgcoyi also highlights the resourcefulness of learning from nature through practicing permaculture principles, as well as being inspired by the abundance of nature, reflected in her observation that ‘you can start something from nothing’ (2016: 8, 12, 25). The model provided by nature, that can be observed and experienced by people growing their own food, for example, is expressed in a simple seed which planted in the ground, grows and bears food which can be harvested and finally produces seeds which keep the cycle going (Mgcoyi 2016: 31).

This sense of building from the ground up and doing it autonomously with the resources one has direct access to, chimes with Khan’s and Sondag’s descriptions of their own approaches. In summary, highlighting self-reliance in the stories of study participants, through Brown’s resourcefulness concept, shows the ways in which the Seeds and their communities are able to share and develop their own resources, while fostering a deeper sense of responsibility to each other and to the land, particularly through recognising food as a valuable resource in the landscape that must collectively be cared for.

5.3.2.2 Diversity and ‘sympoeisis’

Biggs et al. (2012) view diversity as providing systems with a wider set of resources to draw from in times of disturbance and change. Viewed through the Resourcefulness lens, diversity serves as a means of support, providing different options of response depending on context. This view is expressed in Khan’s descriptions of feeling inspired and hopeful, after a period of despair at the tightening of seed law regimes and the weakening of cultural practices involving seed, from seeing all the abundance and diversity of indigenous

foods, and their related cultural practices, that she encountered at Terra Madre (Khan 2016b: 83). In this context, diversity serves as a powerful source of inspiration and hope, which she has sought to manifest in her approach to developing the SFYN (Khan 2016 83, 93).

‘Sympoeisis’ is a term that reflects the generative and community-oriented qualities that I see in the approaches brought by Khan and other participants to developing the respective Seeds projects, in ways that both draw on and enrich their diversity. I borrow the word from Donna Haraway (2016), who uses it to describe the co-creative, generative nature of life processes, in which multiple species collaborate developing environments where they can thrive. Applying Haraway’s term here to the work of food innovators, what I mean by ‘sympoeisis’ is essentially generative solidarity: the capacity of a community to draw on its diverse resources and relationships, to build and generate rich forms of response to various opportunities and challenges. This idea also speaks to the resilience principle of broadening participation to enable learning and sharing (Biggs et al. 2012). It encompasses all the different social themes of inclusivity, collaboration, participation, social capital and collective wellbeing highlighted under ‘Resourcefulness’ in the IPA Analysis (Table 5.2; Appendix B).

Khan, for example, describes the Slow Food Youth Network as being a space for meeting the challenges faced by young people, particularly in accessing education and employment. Unsurprisingly, it is in Khan’s stories that the youth empowerment narrative comes out most strongly (N3). In a 2012 study of South African youth, for example, nearly a third of the nation’s entire 18 to 25 year-old cohort was found to be unemployed, as well as not accessing any form of education or training (Cloete & Butler-Adam 2012). Looking through Brown’s resourcefulness lens at the stories Khan tells of young people’s resilience and vulnerability within the Slow Food Youth Network highlights questions of how resilience and vulnerability play out in a time and a context of urbanisation, population growth, food production, access to resources, unemployment and underemployment -- all of which affect members of the SFYN (Brown 2015; Khan 2016: 43, 45; 2016b: 90, 92).

Alongside these challenges, Khan also spoke about coming to realise the energy and generative potential of youth through her work in developing the network. She likewise describes how the network serves as a vehicle through which young people are 'changing the game' and broadening the diversity of options and strategies for developing communities and livelihoods, for example through linking cultural work, artistry and small industries (N5) to food system change (Khan 2016: 44). The result is a movement being built 'on the one hand through friendship but on the hand through artistry' (Khan 2016: 43-46). This anecdote reflects also the importance of self-organising informal social networks of social support and inclusion as a resource which may help the adaptive capacity of communities, and their ability to thrive amidst uncertainty (Berkes and Ross 2013: 6-11)

One generative practice in the SFYN that Khan highlights (2016: 105, 106), is the practice of cooking, developing new recipes, and sharing food together in the network, which stemmed from a need to feed many people cheaply, often from donated food or food waste, at gatherings. This practice reflects 'how people collaborate... and the trends that come out in the group through one person's innovation, and the stories of how the recipes move... so you learn about a particular leaf (like) dune spinach, and all of a sudden you see lots of people using it in the community, in different ways' (Khan 2016b: 104-107). In this story, the common narratives of indigenous food (N1), youth empowerment (N3), community building (N5), and industry and artistry (N6) interweave.

In my interpretation, Khan's stories of group experimentation with combining and substituting different indigenous food ingredients into the pot speaks to some of the emergent, unplanned, spontaneous, generative, adaptive qualities of the network, and the ways in which such qualities may become rooted in the identity of the network through food (Khan 2016, Haider & van Oudenhoven 2015). It also speaks to the different forms of diversity -- in diet, in livelihood strategies, in forms of participation -- that are supported as communities co-create and find ways to enact the values of care and

responsibility for the land and each other, as discussed under the Rootedness section. This is reflected, for example, in Sondag's observation of how small farmers in the PHA are emerging as the default custodians of the Cape Flats Aquifer (2017²⁷).

Informal spaces such as the PHA, Tyisa Nabanye and the Slow Food Youth Network, which sit outside of or on the margins of formal mandates and governance structures allow for broad participation, creative approaches to problems, and for new types of thinking and new narratives to emerge (Khan 2016).

The sharing of skills and resources, and the sharing of knowledge, is another important sympoeisis aspect highlighted by Khan as a feature of networks and communities such as the Apocalypse Pantry and SFYN (2016b: 64, 75, 93). To give an example of how these values of solidarity and support are enacted in the fabric of the network, Khan highlights a growing collaboration between the Apocalypse Pantry and the Ethical Co-op, a web-based supplier of small-scale, ecologically farmed local produce, in which she has been able to access underutilised kitchen and garden space to develop a business in processing surplus food to prevent food waste, which is generating new opportunities for cooks and food processors in the network (2016b: 77, 78).

Creativity, learning and innovation

Capacities for creativity, learning and innovation all are important aspects of sympoeisis, and also link back to earlier discussions of values, worldviews and mental models. Learning, for example, ties to seeing differently, being open to new experience, and assuming new values (Biggs et al. 2012; Miller & Solin 2015), chiming with stories told by Khan, Rusch and van der Merwe of how they had learned from one another, and adjusted their own views,

²⁷ Sondag made this remark at a Press Conference held in February 2017 announcing the Cape Heritage Tribunal's rejection of a developer's appeal of a proposed mixed housing and commercial project in the PHA.

through exposure in narrative networks, influencing, for example the ethics of their approaches to collaboration (Rusch 2016: TK).

The stories of Khan, Rusch and van der Merwe also reveal how a sense of the ethics of foraging has developed through the indigenous food narrative network (N1), related in some of their accounts of discussions of the types of plants that can and cannot be responsibly foraged, and what types of knowledge may be shared outside of a tight circle of experts and insiders (Rusch 2016; 2017).

My inclusion of creativity as a related theme here reflects the narrative of artistry and industry in alternative food systems (N6) that was articulated by Khan, Mgcoyi, and van der Merwe. It also reflects the inherent and boundless creativity of food itself, and the curiosity that is raised through experiences of food, reflected in van der Merwe's descriptions of his menu creation process during our interview in Cape Columbine Nature Reserve (2016: 24, 34); in Khan's descriptions of innovating recipes with indigenous food ingredients at SFYN gatherings (2016b); and also in Rusch's observations of the generative potential of combining traditional knowledge and innovation to create new possibilities of indigenous food (Rusch 2016: 33, 41).

In walking in the landscape with van der Merwe, observing his intricate awareness of the plants and their relationships and rhythms, listening to and seeing his descriptions of plants, insects, colours and smells, I felt that my perceptory world had expanded as he shared aspects of his own mental models with me through these exchanges (2016: 4, 9, 18, 19, 23, 31). The richness of his descriptions give me the sense that he is perhaps even a human collaborator in different multispecies interactions and processes in the landscape, interpreting these processes through his artistry (van der Merwe 2016: 32, 34).

Rusch reflects on her self-appointed role as innovator and connector, advancing the goal of developing an indigenous food economy in the Western Cape: 'I talk from my heart and tell my story. (My approach) is based in

relationships and connectivity. I can be a glue, I can be the one tying all those strings together with a different kind of voice.’ The vision she articulates reflects a pragmatic approach to developing resilience, through tapping people’s natural curiosity, creativity and conviviality around food (Steel 2009; Rusch 2017). This approach is reflected in her story of the Tannin Tannies, in which playful, collaborative innovation is leading to unexpected discoveries of plant characteristics which may provide important knowledge to guide further experiments in wider cultivation of indigenous tubers (Rusch 2017: 68).

Rusch speaks frequently about finding opportunities to shift and shape thinking in a transformative space (Rusch 2016: 48, 51). The openness or ability to see food in the landscape speaks to how conditions for transformability may emerge through a complexity mindset that is open to change (Biggs et al. 2012). The ability to see differently leads to the ability to innovate and create. Processes of discovery and exploration, innovation and creative interpretation have been described by all the participants in their own ways. Having explored some of the different ways in which food innovators are mobilising people and resources through the different values of how they work, through intuitive symposiums and collaboration, through shared learning, experimentation and innovation, I next turn to the Resistance theme to consider their approaches to opening up new spaces for transformation.

5.3.3 Resistance

Brown’s way of conceptualising resistance as a process of opening up fertile new spaces and sites for change to be ‘shaped and mobilised’, resonates with how most participants described their own approaches to making change (Brown 2015: 3). In my analysis the idea of resistance emerged as a way of framing how participants employ their agency in working towards what they envision to be positive change, particularly in subtle ways such as through shifts in values. Resistance was about activating small transformative spaces and places, and introducing small transformative shifts -- towards eating a more diverse local diet incorporating indigenous food; towards changing people’s perceptions and experiences of food; towards growing indigenous food in small spaces ripe for cross-fertilisation of ideas; towards shaping new

opportunities for youth to become bakers, farmers, food processors and artists within a network of mutual exchange and support (Khan 2016; Mgcoyi 2016; Rusch 2017). The following section will synthesise key narratives through the lens of Resistance as outlined above, integrating key themes of contested landscapes, experimenting with novelty, and regenerative values and narratives.

The resistance theme also encapsulates participants' descriptions of their efforts to make these changes in the face of maldevelopment, land insecurity, unresponsive bureaucracy, poverty and injustice, and livelihood struggles, and sometimes in confrontation with powerful interests (O'Brien 2012; Moore et al. 2014). Important questions are raised in the idea of transformation, especially deliberate or purposive transformation: who decides? What is challenged? How strong is the resistance to change? (O'Brien 2012: 670).

Brown's view on the socially constructed nature of both resilience and vulnerability highlights that hidden or invisible dimensions of resilience may persist in marginal or liminal spaces (2015). In the Slow Food Youth Network, for example, Khan describes many young people as living in vulnerability, lacking opportunity and employment. In the network, however, these vulnerable young people find a place to express creativity and agency and find purpose in community and food (Khan 2016). In the Network they take part in a community to enact and experience every day lived resilience in ways that seem both adaptive and transformative (Berkes & Ross 2013; Brown 2015).

O'Brien (2012) raises dilemmas in the ideas of both adaptation and transformation, on the one hand questioning the limitations of people's capabilities of shaping purposive change; yet also also questioning whether adaptation to change means accepting change, even when it is unjust. These tensions are reflected in Khan's stories of the SFYN, in which young people form a community as an adaptation measure to address their challenges, yet at the same time push up against the limitations of their abilities to enact broader transformations, for example in eschewing the money system by

exchanging skills and resources; yet still being wholly reliant on these larger systems in which their lives are constrained.

5.3.3.1 Contested narratives and ‘constructive storytelling’

Of all the participants, Sondag’s story presents the most direct confrontations with power. Sondag’s t-shirt that says ‘I’d Rather Be Farming’ speaks to the tension of resistance -- and perhaps the inevitability of having to fight for the realisation of one’s own model or vision in a contested landscape, framed according to contested narratives. Sondag, for example, describes trying to counter the city’s narrative that no one wants to farm in the PHA, linked to poor service delivery, derelict land, prospecting -- with a counter-narrative presenting the PHA as a vital strategic resource for land reform and agro-ecological farming to produce affordable healthy food within city limits (2016). Part of building the alternative model is having to fight for the space for that model to exist, for example to block deep-pocketed developments that would preclude or supersede, or as Sondag puts it, ‘delete’ the vision that he is working towards in the PHA, in part by telling a different story (Sondag 2016).

While Sondag’s story highlights the importance of contested narratives and counter narratives as resistance, the counter-narrative he presents also speaks to Senehi’s idea of ‘constructive storytelling’, and the importance of particular kinds of stories in fostering collaboration and mutual recognition (2002: 45). I find this idea of constructive storytelling also to be expressed in Khan’s narrative of the artistic creativity and vibrancy of youth in the Slow Food Network, as well as in Mgcoyi’s narrative of sowing social cohesion and solidarity, along with actual seeds in the ground, in the permaculture gardens of Tyisa Nabanye.

The idea of scale is also important in considering contested narratives and food landscapes. The visual impact of the industrial food narrative (IPES-Food 2016), expressed also in Wiskerke’s idea of placeless geography (2009), looms large. The vast monocultures, the grain depots, the animal feedlots, the industrial food warehouses and giant malls and supermarkets reflect physically in the landscape the power and pervasiveness of a narrative of

cheap food to feed the world. In my process of interpretation, I returned to Olsson et al.'s idea (2006) of windows of opportunity for transformation, and adapted this idea slightly to a different metaphor of looking for 'cracks in the pavement' of the industrial food system. This provided a way of visualising the tiny spaces such as Tyisa Nabanye, Vegkop Farm and Moya we Khaya, situated within such vast geographies of injustice, industrial food, monoculture and consumerism, as persisting like the fragile remnants of biodiverse ecology forming a patchwork in agricultural landscapes of Madagascar, described by Folke et al. (2016).

5.3.3.2. Experimenting with novelty

For me, the most surprising and rewarding interpretative work on the resistance theme arose in the interpretation of van der Merwe's interview transcript. As a chef, I found that van der Merwe seemed to position himself as less of an 'activist' than did most of the other participants -- or rather, perhaps, he seemed to express less of a sense of overt political activism.

Yet a sense of active resistance to the commodification of place, and the images manufactured in the food industry, came through quite palpably for me in our exploration of the coastline of the Cape Columbine Nature Reserve together, as he described his process of interpreting the landscape onto the plate in different literal, figurative and conceptual layers (van der Merwe 2016: 24). In the interpretative process, this interaction revealed itself to be a highly creative act of generative resistance -- creating a radically different experience of food, and shifting one's relationship with food from that of a passive consumer to that of an active participant in experiencing different dimensions of food, the 'enlivenment' of all its connections and relationships in the landscape.

This insight at the same time reflects Khan's statement of food being about so much more than 'flavour and fullness' (2016: 34). The meal itself becomes an expression of the complex, dynamic relationship between food and landscape -- and thus plants a seed of possibility for more enduring transformations of dietary and cultural practice to begin to take root, connected to a far more

intimate sense of place and ecology. Khan makes these connections through the idea of an 'indigenous food revival', as a value through which the habits and dependencies that are instilled through the industrial food system can be broken (2016: 11).

These ideas are reflected in Khan's descriptions of her adventures in entomophagy, and her observation that the practice is about a change in values: understanding the cultural barriers that prevent many people from seeing insects as a food source, and having 'respect for those creatures that share the land with us' (2016: 37). This act of bringing food to life through creative engagement with the landscape thus becomes powerful resistance to the placeless commodification of industrial food, and a powerful means of reclaiming a sense of respect for the land, learning from the land, and appreciating how we are supported by the land (Khan 2016: 8; Rusch 2016, 2017).

In Rusch's stories, creative tension emerges in the themes of shifting thinking and connecting people as creative approaches to working in transformative spaces, connecting up all the different pieces of innovation towards a wild food economy (2016). As Rusch highlights, particularly in a new research project with communities in the Cederberg Mountains, the ethics of collaboration become essential, particularly in spaces of unequal power dynamics and tensions over who has the right to work with indigenous food. In describing her own learning process, Rusch reflected on how she has had to carefully navigate issues of knowledge and ownership, livelihoods and empowerment in spaces fraught with all the tensions of helping to restore lost heritage to people who have been dispossessed (Rusch 2017: 71, 72).

5.3.3.3 Regenerative values and narratives

In my interpretation I see Khan's work towards developing a strong culture within SFYN, as a site for mobilising changes to value systems among youth, as a way of transforming value systems. In this sense, for example, the culture described by Khan of recipe innovation with indigenous ingredients, or

the inclusivity value that characterises the network, could be seen as drivers of change (Brown 2015).

The narratives introduced in Table 5 in a sense provide organising frames (Goodson & Gill 2011) to help illuminate the ways in which food innovators are approaching change and working to shape the kinds of ‘transformations to values, cultures, worldviews’ as highlighted by Bennett et al. (2016). In terms of the narrative of people-nature connections (N4), in Sunday’s story the Western Cape drought brings urgency to his criticisms of neoliberal and pro-development values espoused by the City of Cape Town, in which water is a resource or commodity to be extracted and used, rather than a feature of the land, worthy of respect. And perhaps even more so in Rusch’s story, in which a core value and sensibility of seeing food in the landscape, has led to a profound awareness of the Western Cape’s imported agri-food system model as being poorly adapted and unsustainable, and the need for new mental models to unlock change in this system. In Khan’s story this question is focused through a lens of dietary conditioning and choice, and the need for greater localised dietary diversity for the health of both people and planet.

Khan highlights the indigenous food narrative (N1) as pulling together the different aspects of shaping change, through telling stories, collecting stories, connecting people, creating new recipes, farming indigenous food plants. It is through the indigenous food revival narrative that ‘all those trajectories cross over and connect’ (Khan 2016). This also highlights a transformative aspect of resistance in shifting the narratives from ones of poverty, lock-in, scarcity, dependence and disenfranchisement to ones of self-sufficiency and sovereignty -- narratives that are enacted through growing food, sharing resources, and building strong, creative, inclusive communities.

The idea of ‘refugia’ expressed in Brown (2015), Haraway (2016) and Folke et al. (2016) resonates with participants’ descriptions of finding generative niches to practice indigenous, resilient urban agriculture, or to build new models of agroecology to inspire others. In a sense, these niches may serve as autonomous spaces (Haider & van Oudenhoven 2015; Wilson 2014) the

spaces created through engaging with food, in which the dominant power dynamics so often attached to food can be circumvented.

In this light, narrative diversity becomes another resource to draw upon in creating rich future possibilities in the diverse refugias where the Seeds projects I have described in this work are germinating. As I conducted interviews I began to think of some of the Seeds as the Good Anthropocene as dandelions and other hardy urban weeds sprouting up between the cracks in the pavement. A similar, though perhaps richer, metaphor was described by Khan (2016), expressing a subtle strategy of resistance against dominant 'systems' in which most of our lives are enmeshed, such as capitalism and the monetary system (2016 b,c).

Khan speaks about finding the necrotic spaces in these dominant systems and harnessing the potential of alternative spaces to regenerate new forms of life. As Khan observes (2016), this metaphor of transformation, in which death rots away old structures which give birth to new life, is another lesson from nature, taken from the fungi kingdom (Tsing 2012). It resonates with ideas of alternative geographies and networks that grow new food systems in parallel with the old. They persist, and through their persistence they retain the potential to grow into the necrotic spaces of the 'dying' system - reflected also in Rusch's story about walking up to the top of the sacred hill and seeing indigenous edibles growing where industrial wheat crops had failed (Khan 2016; Rusch 2016).

5.4 Conclusion

In my interpretation, the different values of place, relationship, community and connection encapsulated in the diverse narratives of food innovators reflect a view of the Seed projects as important refuges of narrative diversity that are curated by these individuals in important ways. The diverse narratives surfaced and explored in this work highlight particular social-ecological tensions: the challenges of developing future resilience to drought, climate change and food insecurity through small-scale agroecology in a contested

peri-urban farmscape, for example (Sonday 2016), or the process of mobilising youth to resist corporate control over seed systems (Khan 2016b). These stories also surface rich intersections between the personal and the political, the individual and the collective, the creative joy and the gravitas of wrestling with how to live well in an age in which ‘entangled agencies’ beyond anyone’s control (Latour 2014). One of my hopes is that the stories themselves, as they are presented in this work, stand as counternarratives to common tales of maldevelopment, collapse or techno-utopia (Bennett et al. 2016) -- illuminating small yet fertile niches of responsiveness and change that have a wider potential for contributing towards Good Anthropocenes.

I conclude by reflecting on the significance of Seeds as spaces of narrative diversity, which can be held in physical spaces as well as in networks (Lejano et al. 2013; Kurtz 2014). I find Seeds to be spaces (both physical and conceptual) where new stories of connectedness to nature and life itself are emerging, amid efforts to live well in human communities faced with severe economic, social and environmental challenges. These are also spaces where important stories are emerging about establishing and re-establishing many different kinds of connections and relationships through food: connection to a deeper sense of self, and a sense of being part of something larger than oneself; connections to landscape and the natural world that repair a collective sense of separation from nature; and relationships to each other and to diverse social-ecological communities that sustain life in its many forms.

Chapter 6: Conclusion: storymaking as an approach to exploring resilience capacities

In this work I have described a process of storymaking, in which I gathered and crafted stories of social innovators working to change the food system, and analysed these stories through resilience frames to highlight resilience capacities. In this chapter, I conclude with my reflections on the storymaking process and the significance of my findings, linking back also to the question I raised in Chapter 1 of what it means to be a storymaker in the Anthropocene.

6.1 Reflections on the storymaking process

Storymaking was an approach that emerged through the exploratory design of the study. In general, I found that my focus on stories provided a useful way of getting at the contextual specifics of resilience capacities, particularly as I asked food innovators questions about the stories they told, which contributed to the analysis, for example in Khan's identifying inclusivity as an important value of the SFYN, in response to questions I had asked her about her stories of young people in the network.

I did not have a standard questionnaire, but rather generated most of my questions on the spot. I felt this approach worked well, and that the flowing, emergent, spontaneous character of most of the interviews allowed for richer, more unscripted stories to emerge, such as Khan's story of drawing deep inspiration from Seeds, as well as from encountering diversity at Terra Madre, and feeding this inspiration into approaches and strategies for developing the SFYN. This was one of several stories which emerged during the interviews to suggest ways in which value systems may contribute to food innovators' actions and approaches to change, which I do not think would have emerged under more structured forms of engagement.

Place also served as an effective prompt in guiding the emergence of the interview towards 'invisible' value systems, and in grounding some of the

stories in ideas of lived resilience. Being on Signal Hill with Khan for example, surfaced an ancient story about past abundance and about knowledge being developed from the land that provided important context for understanding Khan's values and approaches to change through the SFYN. In Mgcoyi's interview at Tyisa Nabanye, and in Sondag's interview in the contested landscape of the PHA, there was a palpable sense of the fragility and vulnerability of the Seed, which is inextricably part of its identity and its location on a contested site in the middle of a gentrifying city.

In using the IPA process, I also found that rich insights emerged. Despite not being trained in psychology or concerned with psychological research in this study, I found that the method offered a rich and detailed, rigorous and structured way of interpreting the depth of experience I was seeking to elicit in my interviews. In the interpretation process, I found that by focusing on a particular theme such as Rootedness, I was pushed to deeper levels of insight in drawing meaning from a story. I also feel that the structured approach of IPA enabled me to draw and connect a wide range of meanings across different stories and themes.

In a resourcefulness capacity, for example, diversity was expressed as a resource that could be drawn upon: which on the one hand contributed to learning and innovation (for example, the ecological diversity of the strandveld inspired and shaped van der Merwe's innovative cuisine) and on the other hand, social diversity and inclusion was an important value, for example in the Slow Food Youth Network, through which the identity and culture of the network were shaped through creative processes.

In a resistance capacity, the storymaking and analysis processes enabled me to recognise diversity as a quality that was supported and was able to persist and thrive in narrative networks and in marginal refugia. In this capacity, Seeds projects could be understood as refuges of narrative diversity, as well as other forms of diversity: for example ecological, cultural and socio-economic diversity.

I found a major challenge, however, in the subjective nature of the interpretative process, and the provisional nature of the interpretations. Each time I revisited the data I usually made adjustments to the emergent themes and thematic categories, seeing for example a new resistance aspect to one of the themes that I had not seen before. My interpretations continued to shift shape right up until the completion of the final draft of this work.

The ethics of interpretation were also sometimes challenging and uncomfortable. It was unsettling at times to realise that I was generating interpretations of stories through the filters of my own life and experience, my own values and worldviews. I was very aware of Okri's observation of the role a storyteller plays in cultural production (2014) -- the efforts of this work were truly a co-production as I guided and prompted participants to tell me a story that would reflect their values and other less tangible resilience capacities, and then I analysed those stories and generated meaning from them through my own filters as well as the methods described in Chapter 3. The process made me keenly aware that stories are many-mirrored hallways, and that had I used different frames to interpret these stories, or approached them with different mental models, I may have ended up with very different interpretations. Therefore I think self-reflexivity is a key part of this process, and needs to be brought explicitly into the interpretation process.

The use of IPA themes in combination with key narratives as framing devices for my interpretation provided a strong and powerful set of lenses for directing the specific focus of synthesis to resilience capacities. When synthesised through such strong frames, I believe the story form offers a unique way of making value systems and other complex and intangible aspects of resilience capacities more explicit and available for sharing with wider audiences.

In taking an exploratory approach in my study, I feel that the direct 'utility' of my findings is limited, in the sense, for example, that the stories do not reveal any direct evidence of resilience being built or not, or offer any concrete sort of road map for strengthening the resilience of the Seeds. I do believe, however, that I show through the interpretation process in Chapter 5 that

stories are an effective way of teasing out some of the more subtle aspects of resilience, as well as perhaps the subjective nature of resilience capacities, reflected in the prominence of particular themes such as creativity and intuition, for example, in the stories of some participants more than others.

It was interesting to see that my findings (see Appendices A and B) unearthed some complementary (i.e. in terms of diversity, participatory and learning principles), yet also somewhat different, sets of resilience capacities to those identified by Biggs et al. (2012) and Berkes and Ross (2013). In general, my IPA analysis, in contrast to those of the aforementioned authors, unearthed capacities related more to direct experience as well as to themes of emotion, artistic expression, heritage and ancestry. To me this difference makes a lot of sense, and I think could very probably be due both to my focus on the story form, which centres around the direct experiences and unique perspectives of people, and to my selection of this particular group of food innovators, among whom such values were important and prominent.

6.2 Future potential applications of storymaking

My findings indicate that the storymaking approach may have rich potential for further development and use as a social-ecological resilience tool -- potentially both in contributing towards assessing the less tangible aspects of resilience in particular contexts, for example through doing a similar study with a particular group that has particular resilience 'aims'; and as a tool to help communities purposefully understand and build resilience through interpreting their own stories through resilience frames.

I believe that more participatory approaches could be brought into the process, so that for example communities or individuals are involved in gathering their own stories and generating the frames for analysing these stories. A more targeted approach to storymaking, i.e. in a particular community, and even potentially as a follow up study to one of the Seeds that was part of this study, could yield more tangible or directly applicable results,

for example as people gain insight through storymaking to the particular qualities that influence their resilience, and how to support these capacities.

I also believe there is a strong theoretical case, developed through the work of Goldstein et al. (2012), Lejano et al (2013), and Miller and Solin (2015), for example, as outlined in Chapter 2, to support further inquiry into the utility or agency of the stories themselves in transformative spaces. In bringing participatory approaches to the storymaking process, I believe that groups or communities may also be able to analyse the influence of different story forms, such as narrative networks, on the ways in which they generate resilience capacities within their own unique contexts.

6.2 Values for the Anthropocene: finding meaning in my findings

I conclude with a brief reflection in answer to the question I raised in Chapter 1 of what it means to be a storymaker in the Anthropocene. I feel that value was created in the process I devised of comparing, connecting and synthesising the different stories I gathered, and that the stories added up to something more than the sum of their parts, revealing also the rich narrative diversity held within a small group of food innovators taking different yet complementary approaches to food system change.

Through this process, I unearthed and connected different values, worldviews and capacities which may be important ingredients to living well in and shaping Good Anthropocenes: values of connecting to nature; shaping new narratives in small generative spaces at the margins; finding new relevance in old stories and translating and reinterpreting them for new contexts; developing rich, creative new livelihood possibilities; making together -- or symposiums; and shaping new narratives that, instead of locking in current harmful systems trajectories, generate new potential trajectories of response and possibility, with messy, evolving, contingent, overlapping and unfolding pathways. In reflecting these insights back to the food innovators in this study, as well as to a wider audience, I hope that my role as a storymaker may have

some value in supporting the efforts of these communities to strengthen the capacities to contribute towards their resilience.

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Appendices

Appendix A: IPA clustering of emergent themes

Rootedness (identity, attachment)	Resourcefulness (process)	Resistance (organising principles for change)
<p>9) Connection to people, place, ecology</p> <p>10) Shifting values, perceptions, awareness</p> <p>11) Heritage/inter-generational ties</p> <p>12) Responsibility to the land</p> <p>13) Observation and exploration of place</p> <p>14) Dealing with pain of dispossession, injustice, ecological damage</p> <p>15) Social and ecological diversity; cultural identity</p> <p>16) Wellbeing</p>	<p>12) Self-reliance</p> <p>13) Biological and cultural diversity</p> <p>14) Perceptions of food and landscape</p> <p>15) Participation and collaboration</p> <p>16) Inclusivity</p> <p>17) Building social capital</p> <p>18) Accessing resources</p> <p>19) Learning (incl. from nature)</p> <p>20) Innovation</p> <p>21) Intuition, creative process</p> <p>22) Adaptation, cultural change</p>	<p>11) food and land injustices</p> <p>12) Changing dietary practices</p> <p>13) Artistry and creativity</p> <p>14) Challenging entrenched mindsets and practices</p> <p>15) Governance challenges</p> <p>16) Self-reliance</p> <p>17) Resisting exploitation</p> <p>18) Diversity</p> <p>19) Strengthening participation</p> <p>20) Refuge and regeneration</p>

Interview	Rootedness	Resourcefulness	Resistance
Khan	<p>1. At Signal Hill reconnects with a sense of awareness in the landscape which we have lost living in cities</p> <p>3. Heritage of injustice in SA food landscape - it's fundamentally all about the land</p> <p>4. Sense of sadness for loss of past abundance - touch of romanticism or nostalgia?</p> <p>5. Visible and invisible relationships and interactions on the land</p>	<p>2. An edible landscape with forageable things - food beyond dependency, experience, curiosity, art</p> <p>5. Visible and invisible relationships and interactions on the land the source of material and spiritual sustenance - food, knowledge, stories, atmosphere</p> <p>10. Inspired by life's diverse ways of surviving</p> <p>12. Chooses to work with plants instead of journalism - fearful or</p>	<p>2. An edible landscape with forageable things - food beyond dependency, experience, curiosity, art</p> <p>3. Heritage of injustice in SA food landscape - it's fundamentally all about the land</p> <p>11. Indigenous Food Revival as inspiring organising principle</p> <p>16. People don't know about some of the critical issues we face like seed laws</p>

<p>the source of material and spiritual sustenance - food, knowledge, stories, atmosphere</p> <p>6. Spiritual/ancestral power of keeping lost species alive in your mind</p> <p>8. Feels strong ethic of responsibility to the land</p> <p>9. Sense of Cape's unique bio and human diversity</p> <p>13. Grandmother's appreciation of plants, connects through her own direct lineage to a wider heritage of plants and the land</p> <p>14. Learning from plants - importance of heritage, connection to land, link to socio-political context</p> <p>15. Reverence for land as key tenet of indigenous knowledge</p> <p>19. Land issue: long ancestral lines, ancient livelihoods of people who were here before anyone (Blue Downs farmers, displacement still happening)</p> <p>23. Travelling with an awareness of the land, curiosity, white sand, no water - how were people eating thousands of years ago and developing into the humans that we are now?</p> <p>24. Sees in Namaqualand, you need a particular knowledge of the land to survive</p> <p>25. Research up the W Coast: who uses seed, how do they access it, how little traditional or natural seed is in use</p> <p>26. Remote rural people are the ones who have a seed culture, link to stigma of eating indigenous wild food</p>	<p>mistrustful of power of human stories</p> <p>20. Experience of being youngest person in the room at SPP - SFYN giving access to young people - our food story is not complete</p> <p>21. SFYN as a vehicle, sense of needing to raise consciousness around food especially with young people</p> <p>25. Research up the W Coast: who uses seed, how do they access it, how little traditional or natural seed is in use</p> <p>27. SFYN as collective, held together by connection and inspiration, people being inspired by one another</p> <p>28. Food raises natural human curiosity which we all have, awareness, landscape, relationship, knowledge</p> <p>29. SFYN was started because SF wanted a more grounded approach</p> <p>30. Terra Madre - mind was blown wide open, sheer diversity of indigenous foods, cultures raises hope</p> <p>33. Dietary diversity: eating the sage that grows here, using the drought tolerant grains, coastal foods instead of deep sea fish.</p> <p>34. It's about transforming the agricultural landscape and our own dietary practices, being innovative with recipes. There is no going back to foraging lifestyle, but can learn and shift values - need to resist industry messaging, eat more bitter for health & ecology, transform diets</p> <p>35. Eating as biodiverse</p>	<p>17. Anger at stolen land without restitution</p> <p>18. Deep unresolved land injustices go hand in hand with racial, economic, cultural, ecological exploitation</p> <p>19. Land issue: long ancestral lines, ancient livelihoods of people who were here before anyone (Blue Downs farmers, displacement still happening)</p> <p>22. Land issue needs change, without it nothing will change</p> <p>31. We need to give food respect, a much more central place in our lives, attention to what we put in our bodies</p> <p>32. Possibilities of indigenous food - and also obstacles - not allowed to forage in most places but no problem with land being swallowed up for a shopping mall</p> <p>34. It's about transforming the agricultural landscape and our own dietary practices, being innovative with recipes. There is no going back to foraging lifestyle, but can learn and shift values - need to resist industry messaging, eat more bitter for health & ecology, transform diets</p> <p>36. Embracing complexity of indigenous food - health, culture, ecology, economic - smaller cooperative industries generating work around food that is spiritual and inspiring</p> <p>37. Entomophagy - resisting indoctrination, respecting creatures</p>
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<p>31. We need to give food respect, a much more central place in our lives, attention to what we put in our bodies</p> <p>33. Dietary diversity: eating the sage that grows here, using the drought tolerant grains, coastal foods instead of deep sea fish.</p> <p>36. Embracing complexity of indigenous food - health, culture, ecology, economic - smaller cooperative industries generating work around food that is spiritual and inspiring</p> <p>37. Entomophagy - resisting indoctrination, respecting creatures who share the land, indigenous food culture</p> <p>38. Perception - our separation from nature makes us overlook important resources like insects' nutritional value</p> <p>40. SFYN focus on indigenous food, diversity, cultural connections, salts & resins</p> <p>56. Transformative aspect of culture + tradition: you can change a tradition in less than a generation</p> <p>57. Fermentation, eating bitter, shifting dietary habits may seem small but there are dramatic health impacts - fermentation has a long tradition of culture and practice</p> <p>59. Growing superpowers from dietary biodiversity - absorbing the relationships of a place</p> <p>60. Our concepts of what is toxic or poisonous linked to cultural conditioning, homogenisation of</p>	<p>diets as possible, supplementing diets with indigenous food</p> <p>36. Embracing complexity of indigenous food - health, culture, ecology, economic - smaller cooperative industries generating work around food that is spiritual and inspiring</p> <p>37. Entomophagy - resisting indoctrination, respecting creatures who share the land, indigenous food culture</p> <p>38. Perception - our separation from nature makes us overlook important resources like insects' nutritional value</p> <p>39. Indigenous food pioneers - connecting with Loubie and Forager A, helping and supporting one another</p> <p>41. Feeding a lot of people for cheap w/indigenous food elements at SFYN events creates stories, bonds, recipes in the network</p> <p>43. SFYN a platform for inspiration, youth overcoming discrimination and creating their own alternatives</p> <p>44. Food as complete social welfare overarching umbrella - health, nutrition, social connection, ecology, livelihoods</p> <p>45. Energy of youth to participate innovate and regenerate in a failing economic paradigm</p> <p>46. Creativity and friendship as values in the network to enable connection and flourishing socio-ecological</p> <p>47. Network has built up enough intelligence, impetus, diversity to keep</p>	<p>who share the land, indigenous food culture</p> <p>42. SFYN discussions of food access, food waste, min wage won't enable access to healthy diet</p> <p>43. SFYN a platform for inspiration, youth overcoming discrimination and creating their own alternatives</p> <p>45. Energy of youth to participate innovate and regenerate in a failing economic paradigm</p> <p>47. Network has built up enough intelligence, impetus, diversity to keep people inspired and keep things moving</p> <p>48. Growth of the network - creating regional platforms, tensions of strategy and emergence</p> <p>49. Balance between following a strategy and following the emergence</p> <p>50. We are all implicated in the food system - resisting the us vs. them mentality</p> <p>51. Hit my head against the wall - using my power in ways the government expected me to - the switch to building alternatives</p> <p>52. Shift from working with established processes and confrontation/opposition to a more generative, creative resistance</p> <p>53. Mindful of indigenous food/foraging becoming middle class, exclusive, CPT race class dynamics</p> <p>54. Wanting to build towards a more equal food system</p> <p>55. Does foraging just</p>
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<p>knowledge, as one kind of knowledge has displaced another, knowledge from the land to knowledge from books (and still changing...)</p> <p>61. Cultural conditioning and different systems of knowledge and how we access knowledge (i.e. from land, from books, from Internet)</p> <p>62. From oral to written culture - homogenisation of knowledge, having to put things in boxes</p> <p>63. Writing as a form of homogenising, standardizing knowledge - does this cultural conditioning obscure people's ability to relate to nature and learn from the land?</p> <p>64. Good Anthropocene is connected, sharing skills, exchanging knowledge, helping each other, not looking away, circumventing lock-in silo-ville</p> <p>73. Slow, self-reliant process of building a strong identity in SFYN</p> <p>74. Moving through the world with potent sense of connection to life, spiritual world, recognition of a broader time frame</p> <p>75. Building the network through love, empathy, togetherness, friendship; relinquishing things and circulating resources in the network</p> <p>80. Fascination with multispecies perspective</p> <p>81. Perception, becoming an insect alters perception of time</p> <p>83. Terra Madre: Seeing all the diversity and custodianship in 2012 shifts her perspective and</p>	<p>people inspired and keep things moving</p> <p>64. Good Anthropocene is connected, sharing skills, exchanging knowledge, helping each other, not looking away, circumventing lock-in silo-ville</p> <p>66. Growth of Terra Madre - emerging narratives of indigenous food, self-reliance</p> <p>68. After Terra Madre: it's about us going home and activating in our regions</p> <p>69. We've reached a plateau in terms of building awareness - how what? Need to build a shared understanding of our different perspectives - chefs, activists, etc.</p> <p>70. Everyone needs to understand all the different realities</p> <p>71. Environmental humanities - contested ecologies, how do we gently grate away at the walls of the silos?</p> <p>72. Network of self-care, activism rooted in the generative and creative, guiding network by intuition</p> <p>73. Slow, self-reliant process of building a strong identity in SFYN</p> <p>75. Building the network through love, empathy, togetherness, friendship; relinquishing things and circulating resources in the network</p> <p>76. Inclusive network, community of care where people are supported and enabled</p> <p>77. Apocalypse Kitchen to make ideas and values concrete, tangible through fermenting food waste, etc</p> <p>78. Processing surplus</p>	<p>get co-opted by the middle class or can it transform things towards inclusivity?</p> <p>56. Transformative aspect of culture + tradition: you can change a tradition in less than a generation</p> <p>58. Started Apocalypse Pantry to inspire people to do things outside the system, be independent, understand sovereignty, make a choice</p> <p>64. Good Anthropocene is connected, sharing skills, exchanging knowledge, helping each other, not looking away, circumventing lock-in silo-ville</p> <p>65. Shifting the narrative to 'look how empowered we are' - helping people find happiness every day through food</p> <p>66. Growth of Terra Madre - is this one of the spaces where the metanarrative is emerging?</p> <p>67. What can we do now to actually change things? (complexity of change across different scales, indiv, local, global)</p> <p>68. After Terra Madre: it's about us going home and activating in our regions</p> <p>69. We've reached a plateau in terms of building awareness - how what? Need to build a shared understanding of our different perspectives - chefs, activists, etc.</p> <p>73. Slow, self-reliant process of building a strong identity in SFYN</p> <p>82. Terra Madre 2012</p>
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	<p>worldview</p> <p>87. Third Eye Blatantly - language suggests a deep kind of intuitive knowing</p> <p>95. Shared ecological perspectives and values across the network... shared ecological frame of reference</p> <p>96. Network is grounded in real people, real stories, able to keep seeding itself. Rootedness is 'well-grounded'; resourcefulness as having adaptive capacity (Brown 2015)</p> <p>98. The idea that the network is grounded in real stories is powerful - suggests a complex relationship between people, place, identity, values, networks that hold together a Seed... there is movement that has been generated</p> <p>99. Inclusivity as a value of the network (focuses on food waste, fish people oceans, indigenous food, seed sovereignty)</p> <p>102. Huge movement of farmer artists - collective building a new model to cope with pressures of livelihoods, family support, embedded in a wider context of social change, finding creative expression to feed soul</p> <p>104. An indigenous food revival narrative around building story and community through new recipes; different 'narrative threads' that cross over and connect</p> <p>107. Indigenous food substitution - process of adaptation and co-</p>	<p>food on Thurs at Ethical Co-op involves kitchen & garden space, growers, cooks</p> <p>79. Anna Tsing gift economy has taught me about my practice, processing, symbiosis</p> <p>83. Terra Madre: Seeing all the diversity and custodianship in 2012 shifts her perspective and worldview</p> <p>86. Motivated by realisation of need to branch out beyond organisational silos, choosing to work with people through friendship & trust</p> <p>88. Colleagues came back from Terra Madre bringing new knowledge in their communities. It just blew up in a sense</p> <p>89. Getting people connected to food as a way of growing SFYN, not being too tied up in SF mandate itself - it worked, a slow organic approach, gaining traction passively</p> <p>90. Network has developed by turning to where the needs are - food, community, the struggles of young people facing discrimination and unemployment</p> <p>92. The network is igniting friendships and connecting people, speaking to common issues of depression, isolation, exclusion, lack of opportunity and voice - it's about pulling people in and inviting them</p> <p>93. Connecting the spiritual and the practical in the community - practice of reaching out, cv's and businesses</p> <p>96. Network is grounded in</p>	<p>important moment - inspired by diversity, challenged perception of 'the world is so screwed'</p> <p>84. Realisation of the power in numbers of people not represented in neoliberal values systems - emotional</p> <p>85. Empowered by idea and potential of a values shift, deconditioning of so many people</p> <p>86. Motivated by realisation of need to branch out beyond organisational silos, choosing to work with people through friendship & trust</p> <p>91. Youth facing discrimination - young people are the largest population group but young people aren't represented in the food spaces - need to open access for young people</p> <p>94. Network can begin to alleviate some of the struggles youth face</p> <p>100. The value of inclusivity is grounded not mandated in the network, not constrained by having a mandate</p> <p>101. Historical narrative of urban farming - goes back to the roots of civilisation, concentration of power agribusiness - now youth getting involved and transforming how it's done</p> <p>102. Huge movement of farmer artists - collective building a new model to cope with pressures of livelihoods, family support, embedded in a wider context of social change, finding creative expression to feed soul</p>
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	<p>creation of culture in a community</p> <p>108. Networks of solidarity and friendship, pegged down in physical places scattered about - people link up, visit, strengthen the connections between the places</p> <p>109. Place as connector of all the people and things that flow through it - through food you absorb those relationships, the DNA of the place</p> <p>111. Always forged things myself, made my own path... inspired by people who enable me to see myself within a broader narrative</p> <p>113. resilience as a support system, grounded and solid yet fluid, joyful... a strong feminine sense of resilience. Things can be hidden, like seeds, you store them in a drawer and still viable... can adapt and evolve particularly in times of vast change, famine, emptiness...</p> <p>114. Seeds - why it's so personal to me: strong potential to open up the powerful binary holds urban/rural, formal/informal, feminine power of seeds, magic life potential we all hold within us</p> <p>115. Inspiration - the First Peoples' creation myth of the seed inside the woman, links in language, i.e. an inch, women's reproductive cycle, keeper of life</p> <p>116. Marikana strikers - that point where your hope supersedes your existence - so much</p>	<p>real people, real stories, able to keep seeding itself. Rootedness is 'well-grounded'; resourcefulness as having adaptive capacity (Brown)</p> <p>97. Metaphor of a plant that keeps re-seeding itself: through the enlivenment of people's stories that hold the network</p> <p>99. Inclusivity as a value of the network (focuses on food waste, fish people oceans, indigenous food, seed sovereignty)</p> <p>100. The value of inclusivity is grounded not mandated in the network, not constrained by having a mandate</p> <p>103. Diverse forms of art and storytelling, artists as storytellers working with diverse forms of story</p> <p>105. Collaboration and innovation around developing new indigenous food recipes, and how these recipes move and adapt and evolve through the group</p> <p>106. Co-creative act of feeding lots of people in the network - indigenous ingredients thrown into the culinary melting pot of the Cape -- all speaks to the emergent, unplanned, spontaneous character of the network - (something like the resourcefulness of who is there and what they bring to it) - the skill of 'making what you have'</p> <p>110. Inspired by traditional methods of making and processing</p> <p>112. Resistance and creativity, creativity as empowering way of engaging in hard slog of activism</p>	<p>113. resilience as a support system, grounded and solid yet fluid, joyful... a strong feminine sense of resilience. Things can be hidden, like seeds, you store them in a drawer and still viable... can adapt and evolve particularly in times of vast change, famine, emptiness...</p> <p>114. Seeds - why it's so personal to me: strong potential to open up the powerful binary holds urban/rural, formal/informal, feminine power of seeds, magic life potential we all hold within us</p>
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	power in that, it can feed for generations	<p>113. resilience as a support system, grounded and solid yet fluid, joyful... a strong feminine sense of resilience. Things can be hidden, like seeds, you store them in a drawer and still viable... can adapt and evolve particularly in times of vast change, famine, emptiness...</p> <p>114. Seeds - why it's so personal to me: strong potential to open up the powerful binary holds urban/rural, formal/informal, feminine power of seeds, magic life potential we all hold within us</p>	
Rusch	<p>1. Seeing food in the landscape (cultural perception)</p> <p>2. Eating from the land as formative childhood experience</p> <p>4. Deep lifelong interest in food</p> <p>7. Innovating indig. wild food cultivation against a historical backdrop of imported agriculture models; shift thinking on dominant production models through indigenous wild food innovation</p> <p>9. Awareness of a hotter world shifts thinking</p> <p>10. people more receptive to concepts of indigenous food - locally and worldwide</p> <p>12. Sense of responsibility for introducing foraging practices; importance of responsible stewardship</p> <p>13. Sense of responsibility to make foraging evolve in a sustainable way: ethic of care for a common</p>	<p>3. Awareness of the landscape as edible resource</p> <p>5. Seeing commercial potential of indigenous wild food cultivation</p> <p>6. Natural progression from foraging to cultivation: ethical and financial challenges of foraging in urban context of biodiversity loss</p> <p>7. Innovating indig. wild food cultivation against a historical backdrop of imported agriculture models; innovation to shift thinking, introduce new models</p> <p>8. Working with plants acclimatized to local conditions</p> <p>11. Slow process of developing indigenous food idea through educating, connecting with people, getting stuck in at the market OZCF</p> <p>14. Struggle of finding productive niche to innovate and develop in own way (i.e. not tucked under an NPO)</p>	<p>7. Innovating indig. wild food cultivation against a historical backdrop of imported agriculture models; shift thinking on dominant production models through indigenous wild food innovation</p> <p>18. One Straw Revolution shifts thinking, engenders seeing differently; opens up a new path</p> <p>31. Shifting the story of how people view indigenous food and its potential</p> <p>32: Changing perceptions: shifting the way that people see the world</p> <p>43. Planting perennials and letting farmers see so the idea spreads</p> <p>44. Spreading the idea by telling her story in Garden Clubs etc</p> <p>47. Bags of dune spinach in the supermarket</p> <p>48. Conservation areas an opportunity to shift</p>

<p>resource</p> <p>15. Landscape as a fundamental part of feeding ourselves; we are disconnected from the landscape and how it can support life</p> <p>16. Disconnection leads to bad custodianship of land</p> <p>17. With connection you understand repercussions of your actions on the land, understand the feedbacks better</p> <p>18. One Straw Revolution shifts thinking, engenders seeing differently; opens up a new path</p> <p>28. Ethic or value of indigenous food cultivation at a grassroots level; ethics of grassroots participation; sensitivity to knowledge/cultural appropriation issues</p> <p>31. Shifting the story of how people view indigenous food and its potential</p> <p>32: Changing perceptions: shifting the way that people see the world</p> <p>33. Sharing food brings people together, rich sensory experience, bridges diversity, puts people on equal footing</p> <p>39. Churchhaven - landscapes & sensory input triggers memory - important to wild food</p> <p>40. Childhood memories of snacking from land - land and memory</p> <p>45. Edible carpet plants that want to grow here - quick, easy, practical, tasty</p> <p>47. Bags of dune spinach in the supermarket</p> <p>54. Pecs conference a threshold moment; saw</p>	<p>15. Landscape as a fundamental part of feeding ourselves; we are disconnected from the landscape and how it can support life</p> <p>19. Takes a long time for new thinking to gain purchase</p> <p>20. Food growing in sandy soils; if recognised as such it would be an available resource</p> <p>21. Lazy farming - nature's intelligence enables farming with ease, no harsh chemical inputs</p> <p>22. Harnessing the intelligence of nature</p> <p>23. The farmer 'nudges'; explores how things work naturally; casts nature in a collaborative role</p> <p>24. Developing relationship with Abalimi</p> <p>25. Plants in the ground: strategy of showing quick results to build momentum and get people excited</p> <p>26. Developing project with SI & Abalimi: a process of learning to bring an innovative idea forward</p> <p>27. Role of driving the project. Pilot farm a first step toward a much larger picture</p> <p>28. Ethic or value of indigenous food cultivation at a grassroots level; ethics of grassroots participation; sensitivity to knowledge/cultural appropriation issues</p> <p>29. Ethical responsibilities of participation, collaboration, knowledge and benefit sharing in communities</p> <p>30. Research collaborations, ethic of the commons, grassroots participation</p>	<p>thinking, change existing frameworks and practices</p> <p>49. Edible pioneers in fire breaks: 'nudging' the conventional conservation mindset</p> <p>50. Playing the connector role: challenging conventional thinking and practice; nudging and finding ways to shift mindsets</p> <p>51. Opportunity to shape thinking in an emerging, transformative space. Importance of the W Cape as a place for staging this work, because these foods have never been farmed... Raises a lot of questions -- ethical, ecological, practical, in terms of land ownership ... introduces a lot of complexity</p> <p>52. Importance of just getting stuck in, making a start, being the activist (resistance as doing it differently)</p> <p>53. Inspired by Raj Patel: just be the activist</p> <p>56. Made a start, developed bigger and bigger ideas, suggests an emergent process</p> <p>57. Challenge of finding financially viable pathways for doing the work - finding way through collaborations</p> <p>58. Instinctive journey - exploratory, eschewing established patterns, learning and creating new patterns of doing</p> <p>59. People excited to get involved on indigenous planting day</p> <p>60. Opportunistic, infectious enthusiasm, showing and telling</p>
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	<p>herself as part of a larger likeminded community sharing common narratives about complexity resilience and change</p> <p>55. Wanting to do real, connected work, hands stuck in soil</p> <p>61. Food and nutrition security in Khayelitsha, huge potential for affordable indigenous wild food; opportunity to shift thinking</p> <p>66* Foraging a first step towards seeing food in the landscape; opens new thinking towards large scale climate resilient agriculture</p> <p>67.* Songlines: invested in a relationship with how the land supports me: deep connection, responsibility to the land</p> <p>70*. Story of finding wild food pioneers in failed wheat lands; recognising ecological change in the landscape and the potential to leverage this change</p> <p>71*. Cederberg research project as means of reconnection to heritage, redress for injustices</p> <p>72*. Ethics of collaboration; complexity of dealing with legacies of dispossession, restoring heritage and connection</p> <p>73*. Navigating tensions of role as healer and catalyst: sense of custodianship, strength of commitment, being part of something larger than oneself</p>	<p>31. Shifting the story of how people view indigenous food and its potential</p> <p>32: Changing perceptions: shifting the way that people see the world</p> <p>33. Sharing food brings people together, rich sensory experience, bridges diversity, puts people on equal footing</p> <p>34. Describes self as instinctive cook, instinctive innovator</p> <p>35. Slangbessie story: excitement of discovery, sense of huge untapped potential</p> <p>36. Process of observation, exploration, experimentation, getting feedback</p> <p>37. Research collaboration in cultivating livelihoods; values of participation and benefit sharing - Cederberg</p> <p>38. Growing community conservation and livelihoods, building resilience</p> <p>41. Two-way relationship between indigenous knowledge and innovation: can mutually help reconnect and strengthen relationships to local landscapes</p> <p>42. Need for multi-pronged efforts to grow-cook-research indigenous foods to knit together; plays a connecting role with an integrated approach</p> <p>45. Edible plants that want to grow here, quick, easy, practical, tasty</p> <p>46. Creating a role as wild food innovator, explorer, provocateur. Progression from foraging to bottling to planting; educating along the way</p>	<p>through garden to help people shift their thinking</p> <p>61. Food and nutrition security in Khayelitsha, huge potential for affordable indigenous wild food; opportunity to shift thinking</p> <p>63. Interactions with others have shifted her own thinking; willing to be guided by others, challenged by others</p> <p>64. A formative time for indigenous wild food concept - one can, with the right attitude, have an influence for the greater good</p> <p>65. Curating role; keeping the vision, the big picture, stimulating others to get involved</p> <p>66* Foraging a first step towards seeing food in the landscape; opens new thinking towards large scale climate resilient agriculture</p> <p>68.* Tannin Tannies story: collaboration learning and experimenting with processing indigenous tubers for potential cultivation</p> <p>69*. Exploring commercial potential of different crops: shaping a strategy for exploring this potential; easiest first</p> <p>70*. Story of finding wild food pioneers in failed wheat lands; recognising ecological change in the landscape and the potential to leverage this change</p> <p>71*. Cederberg research project as means of reconnection to heritage, redress for injustices</p> <p>72*. Ethics of</p>
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		<p>agriculture</p> <p>67.* Songlines: invested in a relationship with how the land supports me: deep connection, responsibility to the land</p> <p>68.* Tannin Tannies story: collaboration learning and experimenting with processing indigenous tubers for potential cultivation</p> <p>69*. Exploring commercial potential of different crops: shaping a strategy for exploring this potential; easiest first</p> <p>72*. Ethics of collaboration; complexity of dealing with legacies of dispossession, restoring heritage and connection</p>	
Mgcoyi	<p>1. Process of struggle to find opportunity, livelihood, housing, security</p> <p>5. Practicing values of diversity, equality, ecology in community in place</p> <p>6. Permaculture philosophy - growing food as connection to community, heritage and survival</p> <p>7. Principles and ethics of Permaculture as a way of life</p> <p>8. Building community, learning, developing resources</p> <p>9. Experiences with life in soil, awakening to plants, nature, surroundings</p> <p>10. Connecting permaculture w/stories, performing arts</p> <p>13. Connecting people of different backgrounds in a divided place; justice</p> <p>15. Reviving ancestral knowledge in creative expression; creative</p>	<p>1. Process of struggle to find opportunity, livelihood, housing, security</p> <p>2. Working with kids in performing arts</p> <p>3. Sense of being stuck with limited prospects</p> <p>8. Building community, learning, developing resources</p> <p>12. Accessing land, growing food in small spaces; accessing resources & making the most of them</p> <p>14. Self-sufficiency, drawing on different skills and resources in the community</p> <p>19. Grandmothers' stories of rituals, games, celebrations as part of daily life on the land</p> <p>24. Inspired by nature's abundance to break dependency</p> <p>25. Value of abundance in nature, you can start something from nothing</p> <p>27. TN as meeting place for diversity, biodiversity,</p>	<p>4. Finding refuge from social/economic/spatial inequalities of CPT</p> <p>11. Awareness of growing own food to combat poverty</p> <p>12. Accessing land, growing food in small spaces; accessing resources & making the most of them</p> <p>13. Connecting people of different backgrounds in a divided place; justice</p> <p>15. Reviving ancestral knowledge in creative expression; creative resistance</p> <p>17. Addressing stigma of farming among youth</p> <p>24. Inspired by nature's abundance to break dependency</p> <p>29. TN as microcosm: contestations of heritage, ownership, access, rights</p> <p>32. Potential of youth, wanting to engage youth in agriculture, food, SFYN</p>

	<p>resistance</p> <p>16. Connecting to grandparents' stories of food, ritual, landscape, healing from plants</p> <p>18. Grandmothers' stories evoke sense of lost world, dispossession, nostalgia for living close to the land</p> <p>19. Grandmothers' stories of rituals, games, celebrations as part of daily life on the land</p> <p>20. Own experience at TN helps her to connect with Grandmothers' stories</p> <p>21. Inherits Grandmother's mis-trust of modern food, lifestyle diseases</p> <p>22. Coming to TN helps her to connect the dots, health, traditional food, land, memory</p> <p>23. Sense of deep connection to values expressed in Grandmother's stories</p> <p>26. Importance of bringing together people, ideas (and stories) in a particular place</p> <p>28. Rituals of gratitude and slowness, saying thank you to nature for the air we breathe</p> <p>29. TN as microcosm: contestations of heritage, ownership, access, rights</p> <p>34. Relationship to nature, relinquishing need for control, learning from nature, working with nature</p> <p>35. Sense of being part of a global network, thinking globally</p>	<p>people of different backgrounds and cultures</p> <p>30. Diverse social and ecological functions of the community/place: food growing, education, waste, recycling</p> <p>31. Seeds an expression of nature's abundance, they grow and multiply, produce a harvest and renew, regenerate</p> <p>32. Potential of youth, wanting to engage youth in agriculture, food, SFYN</p> <p>34. Relationship to nature, relinquishing need for control, learning from nature, working with nature</p>	<p>33. Creative potential and metaphorical potency of Seeds -- ideas, power, resistance</p>
Sunday	<p>1. From destructive to generative farming</p> <p>2. Awareness of local community + environment sparks values shift</p>	<p>3. Shift from individualistic to collective-oriented interpretation of what success means</p> <p>4. Embraces collective</p>	<p>5. Story of Muhammad's grandson, shows importance of taking a stand against unjust oppression even if it</p>

	<p>10. Family history of forced removal from PHA</p> <p>11. Pain of dispossession, conflicted feelings, connection, injustice</p> <p>12. Process of developing the land, dabbling in farming, learning, setting up the model</p> <p>16. Organising, building relationships around awareness of PHA's uniqueness</p> <p>18. New grassroots civic to confront unwanted development</p> <p>19. Proactive vision of what people do want for the area</p> <p>20. Diverse community develops collective vision for housing, farms, jobs, services</p> <p>21. Journey from the collapse of old model to building the new</p> <p>22. Strongly identifies with coming from a family that is community minded, involved</p> <p>31. PHA's invisible role in informal food economy</p> <p>32. PHA is unique as well as a microcosm of broader socio-ecological landscape</p> <p>35. Urgency of saving vital land for food production</p> <p>36. Persuading the public to fight for PHA</p> <p>43. Connecting to global agroecology movement</p> <p>44. Identifies with being a producer, working with hands; producers are an 'endangered species'</p>	<p>values: community, cooperation, collaboration, the collective</p> <p>12. Process of developing the land, dabbling in farming, learning, setting up the model</p> <p>13. Financial model - free money made me poorer, loss of freedom and self-sufficiency in industrial model, lock in to capital input intensive system</p> <p>14. Experiencing the hidden dependencies of industrial farming model, locked into values of maximising output, loss of control</p> <p>17. Perceiving a need for strong, 'non-racial' voice to represent the area</p> <p>18. New grassroots civic to confront unwanted development</p> <p>19. Proactive vision of what people do want for the area</p> <p>20. Diverse community develops collective vision for housing, farms, jobs, services</p> <p>23. Identifies as solutions-oriented 'doer', producer</p> <p>24. Learning and getting organised, talking effectively to government</p> <p>25. Proactive engagement, telling govt where the problem areas are, i.e. illegal dump sites</p> <p>27. Shift in values opens up new pathway of 'collective engagement'</p> <p>30. Are small farmers more adaptable to new agroecological model?</p> <p>31. PHA's invisible role in informal food economy</p>	<p>appears hopeless</p> <p>6. Uncertainty of planting a seed in the Anthropocenes - nobody knows what will happen</p> <p>7. 'I'd Rather Be Farming' t-shirt captures the humour of resistance</p> <p>8. Sand mining, prospecting, contested visions for the area, dilution of productive farming</p> <p>9. Language and routines of filing EIA paperwork, dealing with the continuous dull slog of resistance by procedure, legalities, working the channels of bureaucracy</p> <p>13. Financial model - free money made me poorer, loss of freedom and self-sufficiency in industrial model, lock in to capital input intensive system</p> <p>15. Experiencing collapse of commercial farming, personal crisis, old practices and dependent relationships become untenable</p> <p>18. New grassroots civic to confront unwanted development</p> <p>19. Proactive vision of what people do want for the area</p> <p>20. Diverse community develops collective vision for housing, farms, jobs, services</p> <p>24. Learning and getting organised, talking effectively to government</p> <p>25. Proactive engagement, telling govt where the problem areas</p>
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<p>47. SA legacy of authoritarian background shows in current governance</p> <p>53. Socio-ecological diversity, multifunctionality as part of evolving story of Vegkop</p> <p>58. Heritage of PHA - Khoisan grazing, struggles and resilience of German farmers</p> <p>61. Gaining traction takes time</p> <p>62. Hands in the soil is necessary; importance of getting stuck in (got a bit carried away with campaigning)</p> <p>63. Even if PHA is lost, the larger idea will endure</p> <p>64. Mobilising people around an awareness of where their food comes from</p> <p>67. Grassroots participation; deeply invested in campaign</p> <p>68. Building strength in the collective, purposeful engagement (rooted in identifying deeply with core values)</p> <p>70. PHA as unique & strategic resource for farming, food security, urban resilience</p> <p>72. Spatial plan story -- loved developing a collective vision; realised the depth of his commitment</p> <p>73. 'This is how we want to see the future' -- an amazing space where everything complements</p>	<p>35. Urgency of saving vital land for food production</p> <p>39. Land reform fails because model is too capital intensive</p> <p>40. Connections with academic-activists</p> <p>41. Govt sets up emerging farmers to fail</p> <p>42. Developing a locally appropriate model of agroecology drawing on international examples</p> <p>44. Identifies with being a producer, working with hands; producers are an 'endangered species'</p> <p>45. Political engagement as part of building an alternative model</p> <p>48. Agroecological model to engage public participation</p> <p>50. Working with nature to regenerate eco-services</p> <p>51. Resilient 'development' a long slow process of building engagement, using own resources</p> <p>52. Multifunctionality, polycultures, diverse income streams</p> <p>53. Socio-ecological diversity, multifunctionality as part of evolving story of Vegkop</p> <p>54. Biodiversity for resilience, system stability</p> <p>55. Developing appropriate (low input) model for farmers</p> <p>56. Understanding needs, advocating support for small farmers</p> <p>62. Hands in the soil is necessary; importance of getting stuck in (got a bit</p>	<p>are, i.e. illegal dump sites</p> <p>26. Industrial farmer is captured in the value chain</p> <p>28. Resistance against industrial value chain</p> <p>29. Relates own experience of exploitation in a system; broader exploitation of workers, animals, land</p> <p>33. Price of cabbages in supermarket puts a figure on farmers' exploitation</p> <p>34. Food system creates food insecurity; externalises costs, captures value</p> <p>36. Persuading the public to fight for PHA</p> <p>37. Resist economic pressures to expand production, consolidate ownership</p> <p>40. Connections with academic-activists</p> <p>43. Connecting to global agroecology movement</p> <p>45. Political engagement as part of building an alternative model</p> <p>46. Lack of accountability in the political system; farmers' voices are marginalised</p> <p>47. SA legacy of authoritarian background shows in current governance</p> <p>49. How to improve accountability in political system</p> <p>57. Building new model becomes resistance against dominant system</p>
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	<p>86. Inspired by Joel Salatin's local model -- no chicken by FedEx</p> <p>87. Need sustainable land reform model for SA -- too capital intensive, patronising</p>	<p>carried away with campaigning)</p> <p>64. Mobilising people around an awareness of where their food comes from</p> <p>65. Opportunity for community building, active participation -- a vibrant society sustains itself through active participation</p> <p>68. Building strength in the collective, purposeful engagement (rooted in identifying deeply with core values)</p> <p>69. Building capacity, mobilising resources for active participation</p> <p>70. PHA as unique & strategic resource for farming, food security, urban resilience</p> <p>74. Solidarity - linking with other struggles and building an alternative</p> <p>75. Social mobilisation strategy -- Where does your food come from? Idea developed through a process</p> <p>81. Self-sufficiency, self-reliance as small businessperson</p> <p>84. Connecting drought to food production helps campaign gain traction</p>	<p>60. Resisting bureaucratic moves to 'delete the local environment' - (splintered urbanism)</p> <p>65. Opportunity for community building, active participation -- a vibrant society sustains itself through active participation</p> <p>66. Highlights a struggle to participate in current political system</p> <p>71. Current situation is so unjust; can't walk away</p> <p>74. Solidarity - linking with other struggles and building an alternative</p> <p>77. Struggle to gain momentum with petition</p> <p>83. Resisting commodification of food, consolidation of ownership, extraction of profit</p> <p>85. Things only shift when you have the models to show how it can be done</p>
van der Merwe	<p>2. Struck by inauthenticity of W Coast fish & chips; seeks to produce food 'representing the landscape'</p> <p>3. Asparagus capensis! Excitement of continuous discovery in the landscape</p>	<p>4. Daily rhythm of tuning in to ongoing processes of change in the landscape; inspires invention, adaptation, experimentation, different ways of processing ingredients</p> <p>6. Awareness, exploration,</p>	<p>1. Wish to escape confines of a boring office job</p> <p>3a. Find ways of adapting our palates and overcoming conditioning of our tastes to be open to indigenous food</p> <p>10. Disturbed land offers</p>

	<p>4. Daily rhythm of tuning in to ongoing processes of change in the landscape; inspires invention, adaptation, experimentation, different ways of processing ingredients</p> <p>5. Inherits grandfather's passion for indigenous plants & landscape (grasses of N Cape), lays a foundation for present explorations</p> <p>7. Processes of gathering local knowledge from books and people as it disappears; stigma of indigenous food, yet the knowledge is retained in children's play, in certain individuals</p> <p>8. Edible plants are part of living memory expressed in children's play</p> <p>10. Disturbed land offers niche where dune celery thrives</p> <p>11. Ethics of foraging responsibly on sensitive habitat</p> <p>12. Rediscovering indigenous flavours, innovating food to represent landscape; introducing small biodiverse cultivation</p> <p>14. Veldkool prolific in winter, still harvested and cooked by locals</p> <p>15. Misrepresentation of place - calamari is presented as being plucked fresh from the sea but comes from trawler off Patagonia; he is responding to the commodification of place, manufactured image and myth of food. Resisting commodification of place.</p> <p>16. SA cuisine as living, organic thing -- exciting to</p>	<p>discovery in landscape - makes a connection to heritage (5) laying a foundation</p> <p>7. Processes of gathering local knowledge from books and people as it disappears; stigma of indigenous food, yet the knowledge is retained in children's play, in certain individuals</p> <p>9. Building connections and relationships through food, fascination with indigenous plants and landscape, discovering new edibles, developing knowledge</p> <p>10. Disturbed land offers niche where dune celery thrives</p> <p>11. Ethics of foraging responsibly on sensitive habitat</p> <p>13. Sustainable production of biodiverse pioneers in disturbed areas to supply local restaurants, nurture and regenerate land</p> <p>16. SA cuisine as living, organic thing -- exciting to develop and refine it</p> <p>17. Solving problems through diversity - diversifying diet, cultivation etc.</p> <p>18. Learning to see food in the landscape; attune to the natural cycles and rhythms of landscape and innovate appropriate cultivation and culinary practices</p> <p>23. Observing adaptation & specialisation in a harsh environment</p> <p>24. Layers of interpretation & inspiration from plants/ Landscape to dishes - literal, figurative, conceptual, sensory interpretations</p> <p>26. Knowledge of the land</p>	<p>niche where dune celery thrives</p> <p>15. Misrepresentation of place - calamari is presented as being plucked fresh from the sea but comes from trawler off Patagonia; he is responding to the commodification of place, manufactured image and myth of food. Resisting commodification of place</p> <p>16. SA cuisine as living, organic thing -- exciting to develop and refine it</p> <p>17. Solving problems through diversity - diversifying diet, cultivation etc.</p> <p>18. Learning to see food in the landscape; attune to the natural cycles and rhythms of landscape and innovate appropriate cultivation and culinary practices</p> <p>21. Massive footprint of industrial farming, ecological desert, revealed in Google Earth images. Expresses such an immediate sense of small unique worlds being lost</p> <p>23. Observing adaptation and specialisation in a harsh environment</p> <p>25. Visual comparison between industrial ag landscape and biodiverse natural landscape - strong emotion linking to how one 'sees' the landscape: edible carpet of biodiverse endemic indigenous water-wise plants vs. hectic monoculture agriculture and weird un-futuristic farming practices</p>
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	<p>develop and refine it</p> <p>18. Learning to see food in the landscape; attune to the natural cycles and rhythms of landscape and innovate appropriate cultivation and culinary practices</p> <p>19. Endless discovery and fascination with subtle nuanced flavours; amazing descriptions</p> <p>20. Storying the landscape: excitement over rhythms of what is flowering, going dormant, underlying relationships</p> <p>21. Massive footprint of industrial farming, ecological desert, revealed in Google Earth images. Expresses such an immediate sense of small unique worlds being lost</p> <p>22. Intricate, sensitive descriptions of subtle textures, smells; honey smell, graveyards of dead twigs sprout soft green foliage, tiny gardens in rock crevices</p> <p>23. Observing adaptation and specialisation in a harsh environment</p> <p>24. Layers of interpretation & inspiration from plants/ Landscape to dishes - literal, figurative, conceptual, sensory interpretations</p> <p>25. Visual comparison between industrial ag landscape and biodiverse natural landscape - strong emotion linking to how one 'sees' the landscape: edible carpet of biodiverse endemic indigenous water-wise plants vs. hectic monoculture agriculture and weird un-futuristic</p>	<p>and how it regenerates with growth of edible pioneers; sense of abundance in the land; food that grows with ease</p> <p>27. Sense of diverse abundance from the land we can actually live off of; for dietary diversity and health</p> <p>28. Edibility - not just food staples but herbs, resins, salts etc, a diversity of flavours, smells, textures etc</p> <p>31. Botanical teas - working inspiration from the landscape into processing, capturing different flavours, stages: roots, leaves, shoots, at a particular moment in time; seasonal</p> <p>32. Almost a sense of interspecies collaboration: inspired by the plants, insects, smells: creativity as response to the landscape and its intricate timings of interactions and processes; playful appreciation, perception, inspires creativity</p> <p>34. Reflects on how menu is constructed around processes of foraging, built on ever-developing awareness of the dynamic landscape, turning seasons, colours, growth cycles, etc... summertime harshness; wintertime abundance, verdure</p>	<p>26. Knowledge of the land and how it regenerates with growth of edible pioneers; sense of abundance in the land; food that grows with ease</p>
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	farming practices 29. Red geranium - tensions around connection to place, identifying with place, commodification of place: evokes a window cill in Greece but is indigenous to coastal strandveld landscape 30. Ethics of foraging in a sensitive landscape 33. The rain: tuned to the environment, landscape 35. Wild food element on the menu to highlight particular place and time 36. Awareness of intricate specialisation, timing, relationship of plants in a particular niche, i.e. flowering 37. Awareness of fragility: the tiny little dot on the map representing the range of a rare, intricately specialised succulent 38. Emotional sense of negligence and destructiveness of people 39. Happily retreat into my sandveld corner of the world: sense of shock at scale of placeless food geography 40. Interpreting the landscape; keeping it small to be sustainable; family background of men in the kitchen		
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Appendix B: IPA themes table with numbers

Clustering of emergent themes using IPA

Rootedness (identity, attachment, ethos)	Resourcefulness (process)	Resistance (organising principles for
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		transformation)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Connection to people, place, ecology <p>K: 1, 24, 37, 73, 74, 75, 99, 108, 109 M: 6, 9, 10, 13, 18, 20, 26, 28 R: 7, 15, 33, 39, 40, 54, 55, 70, 71, 72 S: 10, 16, 18, 19, 31 V: 2, 3, 5, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 29, 30, 35, 36, 37</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self-reliance <p>K: 2, 25, 73, 93, 105 M: 8, 24, 30, 32 R: 20, 57, 58, 61 S: 17, 23, 24, 44, 55, 56, 57, 58, 65, 68, 81 V: 23</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Food and land injustices <p>K: 17, 18, 19, 34, 36 M: 13 R: 71, 72 S: 5, 6, 46 V:</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Shifting values, perceptions, awareness <p>K: 1, 36, 74, 83, 113 M: 6, 7, 9, 10, 20, 34 R: 1, 2, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 18, 61 S: 1, 2, 21 V: 10, 15, 18, 21, 23, 25</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Biological and cultural diversity <p>K: 25, 28, 30, 35, 36, 105, 106, 114 M: 8, 19, 27, 30, 31 R: 15, 33, 35, 69, 72, S: 20, 31, 52, 53, 54, 59 V: 7, 9, 16, 18, 24, 28, 31, 32, 34</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Changing dietary practices <p>K: 34, 36, 37 M: 11, 12 R: 7, 47, 61, 66, 68, 69 S: V: 15, 16, 17, 18, 26</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Heritage/inter-generational ties <p>K: 13, 24, 83, 114 M: 6, 9, 10, 15, 18, 19, 20 R: 7, 71 S: 22, 58 V: 5, 40</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Perceptions of food landscape <p>K: 35, 36 M: 8, 12, 24, 25 R: 3, 15, 20, 21, 22, 23, 48, 61, 66 S: 40 V: 9, 10, 16, 18, 26, 28, 31, 32, 34</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creativity and artistry <p>K: 2, 82, 102, 103, 114 M: 15, 11, 32, 33 R: S: V: 15, 17, 18</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relationship, responsibility to the land <p>K: 8, 19, 20, 37, 83, 109 M: 9, 28 R: 12, 13, 15, 67 S: 32, 70, 73 V: 2, 4, 15, 21, 25, 37</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participation and collaboration (incl nature) <p>K: 20, 27, 73, 92, 105, 106 M: 30, 32 R: 11, 23, 41, 51, 57, 68, 72 S: 17, 24, 25, 64 V: 9, 32, 34</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Challenging, entrenched mindsets, practices <p>K: 34, 36, 82, 91, 101, 102 M: 4, 13 R: 7, 18, 47, 48, 50, 51, 57, 58, 61, 66, 69 S: 45, 57 V: 1, 15, 16, 17</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exploration of the food landscape <p>K: 24, 37, 74 M: 13, 15, 20, 34 R: 39, 40</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inclusivity <p>K: 20, 27, 29, 73, 75, 90, 92, 93, 105, 106 M: 26, 27, 30, 32 R:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Governance challenges <p>K: 16, 17, 18 M: 13 R: 48, 50, 51</p>

S: 43 V: 2, 3, 5, 20, 22, 23, 24, 36, 37	S: 17, 25 V:	S: 45, 47, 49, 60 V:
- Dealing with pain of dispossession, injustice, ecological damage K: 4, 19, 99 M: 15 R: 71, 72 S: 10, 11 V: 21, 25, 37	- Collective wellbeing K: 20, 27, 72, 75, 90, 92 M: 8, 30 R: 42 S: 3, 4, 25, 27 V:	- Self-reliance/ breaking dependency K: 2, 16, 34, 36, 37, 73, 114, 102 M: 4, 11, 12, 15, 24, 33 R: 57, 58, 71 S: 43, 57 V: 23, 26
- Social-ecological diversity, cultural identity K: 25, 36, 37, 73, 83, 104, 108, 114 M: 6, 18, 20, 26 R: 47, 71, 72 S: 31, 44, 58 V: 15, 29	- Building social capital K: 20, 27, 72, 73, 75, 90, 92, 93, 105, 106 M: 8, 26, 32 R: 11, 41, 42, 51, 62, 72 S: 4, 18, 20, 27, 42, 48, 64, 65, 68, 69, 74, 75 V:	- Resisting exploitation K: 16, 17, 18, 94, 102, 114 M: R: 72 S: 26, 28, 29, 57, 33, 34, 45, 46 V: 15
- Wellbeing K: 36, 72, 73, 75, 99 M: 6, 19, 20 R: S: V:	- Accessing resources K: 28, 35, 75, 90, 105, 106 M: 1, 8, 12, 24, 25, 27 R: 21, 22, 23, 42, 61, 66, 68, 69 S: 12, 56 V: 18, 26, 31, 32, 34	- Diversity K: 82, 91 M: 13 R: 69 S: 12, 56 V: 10, 21, 23
	- Learning (incl from nature) K: 28, 105, 106 M: 24, 31, 34 R: 21, 22, 23, 57, 58, 61, 62, 66, 68, 69 S: 24, 40, 53, 55, 56 V: 4, 7, 9, 10, 16, 18, 23, 26, 31, 32, 34	- Strengthening participation K: 73, 91 M: 13 R: 63, 68, 71, 72 S: 65 V:
	- Innovation K: 105, 106 M: R: 34, 41, 42, 46, 47, 51, 57, 58, 62, 68, 69 S: V: 10, 16, 18, 24, 31, 32, 34	- Refuge and Regeneration K: 94, 114 M: 4 R: 69, 71, 72?? S: 20, 57, 65 V: 10, 21, 23, 25, 26
	- Intuition, creative process	

	<p>K: 72, 103, 105, 106, 113, 114 M: 8, 19, 34 R: 34, 35, 42, 46, 57, 58, 62, 68, 69 S: 30, 51, 65, 68, 81 V: 24, 31, 32, 34</p>	
	<p>- Adaptation, cultural change K: 25, 30, 105, 106, 113, 114 M: 8, 14, 19, 24, 34 R: 19, 20, 61? 62, 66, 69 S: 3, 4, 30, 27, 51, 53, 65, 68 V: 23</p>	

Appendix C: Illustrative examples of IPA process

Example 1: Mgcoyi has been describing her struggles to afford rent in the Cape Town suburb of Observatory from her earnings from seasonal acting work. The transcript reflects her direct quotation (shortened slightly for brevity):

We rented there for two or three months, but then we couldn't afford the rent... In the film industry it's season and then it's not... but at that time I would come to the farm every day just to help Andre with the animals... We couldn't afford rent so I was like let me call Andre, we just need a place to crash... I came and he made space for me and I was living with Vuyo and my cousins. Lumko once came, he was like this place has potential, we can start growing our own food and share about it... I was like yeah that's a good idea...

I make the following exploratory comment on this passage:

4. Seems to express an important theme of social and spatial justice and access in Cape Town. Interesting to note the economic drivers in this story, the arrangements people make to cope. TN is a bit of an urban refuge from intense pressures of a financialised urban lifestyle where one's social safety net is the community and not the state. It's a refuge in many ways, ecologically... It integrates the social landscape a little in a city where pressures of gentrification and land ownership would seem to be working actively against integration, restitution, freedom of choice. In terms of resistance, TN is holding open a space (for now) for alternative sets of values to be practiced outside of market pressures, like communal living, solidarity, self-sufficiency.

I then distill this comment into an emergent theme, which I label:

4. FINDING REFUGE FROM SOCIAL/ECONOMIC/SPATIAL INEQUALITIES OF CAPE TOWN

In the next phase of clustering emergent themes, this theme falls under the heading:

REDRESSING FOOD AND LAND INJUSTICES

As I have already noted provisionally in the exploratory comment, this theme seems to resonate with the broad meta theme of RESISTANCE. Eventually after all steps have been completed I do indeed place this theme under the RESISTANCE heading (see Appendix A).

Example 2: Mgcoyi is responding to a question about how she sees the strengths of the Tyisa Nabanye community. From the transcript:

When we started Tyisa Nabanye we had unexpected outcomes, like for example even if we didn't have money when we started it, but now people are starting to be entrepreneurs. Like we have a coffee guy Vuyo who bought a coffee machine by being at this space and being exposed to markets, that you can start your own thing and make money. Vuyo was also supplying microgreens in restaurants, so it's showing people that you can, even if you don't have something you can start something from nothing, because we all have this abundance in nature, but you just need people, ideas what to do...

I then make the following exploratory comment on this passage:

24. Here she reflects that one can be inspired from the sense of abundance that nature gives, that this can inspire entrepreneurship and break one's modes of dependencies. The observation of starting something from nothing, that growing your own food can create a sense of self-sufficiency, nature as a model for how to live and be. Connects to the idea of resourcefulness...

From this I distill the emergent theme:

24. INSPIRED BY NATURE'S ABUNDANCE TO BREAK DEPENDENCY

I later connected this emergent theme with other anecdotes and stories about breaking dependency and developing strength from one's own resources, or as Mgcoyi puts it, making something from nothing, to a broader theme of SELF-RELIANCE, which then fell under the RESOURCEFULNESS heading.

Appendix D: Consolidation of emergent themes into key themes using IPA (Illustrative example)

Table 7: placement of emergent themes into broad categories using IPA

Broad category	Food & land injustice	Connection to people, place, ecology	Self-reliance	Creative expression
Emergent themes	Struggle for opportunity Youth facing limited prospects Economic, social, spatial inequality Connecting people and ideas in a place Meeting place for biodiversity, cultural diversity Connecting disparate neighborhoods	Permaculture as way of life Community building in a neglected space Coming together around permaculture principles Developing resources as a community Connecting permaculture, seeds, creative expression Connection to grandparents' stories Values connect people of diverse backgrounds Diversity, equality, justice, love of nature	Community building in a neglected space Developing resources as a community Growing food to alleviate poverty Making the most of limited resources Developing different skills and resources You can start something from nothing	Reviving ancestral knowledge Connecting permaculture, seeds, creative expression Potency of seeds -- power, resistance, ideas Connects to values expressed in grandmothers' stories